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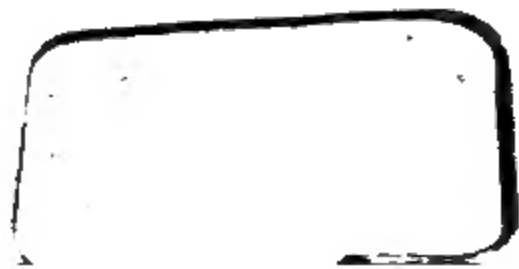


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**RAPHAEL:**  
**HIS LIFE AND WORKS.**







# **RAPHAEL:**

## **HIS LIFE AND WORKS.**

**WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO**  
**RECENTLY DISCOVERED RECORDS,**  
**AND**  
**AN EXHAUSTIVE STUDY OF**  
**EXTANT DRAWINGS AND PICTURES.**

**BY**  
**J. A. CROWE AND G. B. CAVALCASELLE,**

**AUTHORS OF "THE HISTORY OF PAINTING IN NORTH ITALY,"**  
**AND "TITIAN: HIS LIFE AND TIMES."**



**IN TWO VOLUMES.—VOL. II.**

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## ERRATUM.



VOL. II., p. 86, line 5 from top of page : *for* “The breeze which plays,” &c.,  
*read* : “A flaw in the breeze which plays with the folds of her vestments leaves  
her neighbour’s tunic untouched.”

# RAPHAEL: HIS LIFE AND WORKS.

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## CHAPTER I.

Raphael and Michaelangelo together at Rome.—Relations of the two painters.—Julius II. as a patron of art.—The Rovere family.—Artists employed by the Pope: Bramante, Perugino, Signorelli.—Study of ancient remains.—Julius and the court of Urbino.—How he might have known Raphael.—Date of Raphael's coming to Rome.—Is the date usually accepted correct?—Decoration of the Camere by Sodoma, Lotto, and others.—Raphael's arrival at Rome in 1509.—He begins the Camera della Segnatura.—Order of the work.—The Ceiling, the subject pictures, the four allegories.—The Disputa.—Original impressions.—The Scene represented.—Influence of Fra Bartolommeo; of Lionardo.—Imitation of Da Vinci's Epiphany.—Description of the Subject.—Different character of its parts.—Imitation of the antique in figures of Seraphs.—The Hours.—Reminiscences of earlier pictures by Fra Bartolommeo and Raphael himself.—Drawings.—Sonnets.

RAPHAEL'S invitation to Rome and Michaelangelo's engagement to paint the Sixtine Chapel, are now considered to have been contemporary events, but we know less of the causes which led to the first than of the reasons which produced the second. It was an accident which separated Michaelangelo from Raphael at Florence. An accident brought them together at Rome. The circumstances under which they lived in each capital were very different. In

Tuscany, neither Raphael nor Buonarrotti could dispense with the patronage of the rich to which they both appealed. At Rome, they were servants of a pontiff, who employed them both under one roof. Varieties and dissonances which might have passed unnoticed in Tuscany, would naturally come out with exceptional force at the Vatican; because, in the one case, the two men were necessarily thrown together, in the other, they seldom met in friendship or in enmity. Still, at Florence as at Rome, nothing prevented either of them from following his own bent. Raphael might charm those who knew him by a pleasing affability; Michaelangelo might repel rather than court friendship by rudeness and sarcasm. To such of the public as understood these things, both artists were gifted with extraordinary powers which only differed from each other in some of their subtler elements. One was all grace; the other all strength. Two forces, directly equal and contrary, met and neutralized each other. The picture of violent and ceaseless hostility which tradition has handed down to us as a normal state in which Raphael and Michaelangelo lived, appears to be grossly exaggerated. In all that we can gather from credible sources, as well from reasoning as from analogy, we find no more than that they were generous rivals. They had nothing to fear from each other. Neither of them could miss the goal for which they equally contended, neither fail to produce those masterpieces which surprised their contemporaries and afterwards astonished the world.

It would have been difficult to select a more

suitable time for employing two such men than that which Julius, unconsciously, chose. The Romans had welcomed the Pope on his return from the conquest of Bologna, as one who had greatly increased the temporal power of the papacy. The occasion was unique for a great ruler to appear as a splendid patron and protector of artists.

When Sixtus IV., the first pontiff of the race of the Rovere, built the chapel which bears his name, he entrusted its adornment to the best men that he could then find in Italy. The decision with which he set to work is shown in the rapidity with which his commands were obeyed. The frescos of the Sistine chapel were all completed in the short period of twelve months ; \* and on the 15th of August, 1483, Julius, the second Pope of his race, chaunted, as cardinal, a mass in the chapel.

The magnates of the Rovere family were all eager to emulate their chief. After the death of Sixtus IV. they gave employment to painters of mark ; and much of the labour performed by Pinturicchio at Rome or Signorelli at Loretto was due to their intervention. Julius himself extended his patronage to Giuliano da San Gallo, Vincenzo Foppa, Perugino and Bramante ; there was not a branch of the arts in which he did not take some interest. At a very early period, he had spent money in collecting. He bought the Apollo of Belvedere on the day of its discovery, and

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\* Raphael Volaterrano in Muratori, and Schmarsow's Pinturicchio, p. 11.

afterwards gave it a place near the group of the Laocoon and the Torso of Hercules. The fever of destruction and reconstruction which afterwards attacked him, led to some remarkable results. Old edifices were demolished and new ones rebuilt; and discoveries were made in the excavation of the first and the founding of the second. At the bidding of Julius, Bramante planned and partly carried out a Modern Rome. The Basilica of St. Peter which he designed, caused Michaelangelo's transfer to the Sixtine Chapel. The Pope's activity led him to the selection and employment of several great masters. Where churches and palaces arose, artists were required to effect their adornment. Rome became the resort of the best craftsmen of Italy, and it almost seems a marvel that Lionardo and Fra Bartolommeo were not of the number. Every one of those whom the cardinal had protected were promoted by the Pontiff. Julius II. gave Bramante permission to recommend his friends. Others gained place at the suggestion of the Chigi. It was natural that the Pope should favour Perugino even after his elevation. Signorelli was present to his memory as the creator of a splendid fresco in the Sixtine Chapel. Pinturicchio's latest and best work in Santa Maria del Popolo entitled him to claim recognition as a pupil of Perugino, and a client of the Rovere. Caporali, Bramantino, Cesariano, Peruzzi and Sodoma, might all trust for advancement to the interest of their connexions at Milan or Sienna. Lotto a Venetian, opened the path to Sebastian del Piombo and Titian. In the autumn of 1508, or the

spring of 1509, most of these men were employed in the Vatican, Sodoma in the Camera della Segnatura, and others in adjacent rooms. A large reserve of Florentines, Granacci, Bugiardini, L'Indaco, Agnolo di Donnino and Aristotile da San Gallo were assistants to Michaelangelo at the Sistine. The Vatican was a centre where Florentines and Umbrians, or Siennese and Venetians met in the lists. Their chief place of residence was the Borgo Vecchio, one of the principal streets leading from the bridges across the Tiber to St. Peter's.\*

Within easy distance of the Belvedere in which Bramante entertained his friends, the colony of Italian artists might disperse to the galleries which Julius had formed; and such of them as had studied the frescos of Masaccio and Filippino, and the cartoons of Da Vinci and Michaelangelo at Florence, would be able to copy the finest antiques of a museum which had not its like in any part of the world.

It is hardly possible to exaggerate the influence which these masterpieces had in expanding the style of Raphael. Like a true student, respectful of the genius of the ancients, he joined his comrades in making every building and every statue or fragment of ruin an object of pilgrimage. From remnants that had been laid bare, it was possible to imagine the grandeur and importance of what still lay hidden; and the use to which new discoveries and impressions were put

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\* Most of them lived in the palace of San Clemente which became vacant in 1503 by the death of Cardinal Domenico della Rovere.

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shows how constantly the first were made and the second were renewed.

Nor was it as if Raphael had come unprepared for these things to his new residence at Rome. The tendency of his study had been partially the same at Florence; with this difference, that whereas Tuscany furnished him with little more than the numerous but clever adaptations of Domenico Ghirlandaio, Rome gave him a much more plentiful selection of original examples to look at and to master.

As regards art, everything that was old and classic in form and taste, was new to the youthful Umbrian. The painters whom he met in the same haunts or on their way to their daily labours were mostly old acquaintances. From Perugia he would welcome Perugino and Pinturicchio. Sodoma and Peruzzi would be no strangers since his stay at Sienna. Bramantino, Caporali, and Cesariano would be welcome as disciples of Bramante. Michaelangelo, his idol at Florence, would still be his idol at Rome; whilst Granacci, Bugiardini, and Aristotile would remind him of familiar meetings in bye-gone days in the painting room of Baccio d'Agnolo.

Julius II., to whom all these artists looked up as their protector and patron, was connected in various ways with the country of Raphael's birth, one of his nearest relatives had just succeeded to the coronet of the Duchy. Twice in the course of his military expeditions, Julius had visited the city of which Francesco Maria was the ruler. In the halls of the palace of Urbino, or in those of the



Vatican, he might have heard from his sister Johanna, or his nephew, the Duke, of Raphael's skill in the practice of the arts. Nothing seems more in the ordinary course of things than that Francesco Maria, returning from Fossombrone or Urbino, where he had witnessed the death of Guidubaldo and received the homage of his people, should remember the masterpieces which Raphael had executed, and the letters which he had written. One of these letters, of recent date, asked for his interest with Soderini, the chief of the Florentine State. If he thought Raphael worthy of Soderini's patronage, he might not consider him unworthy of that of the Pope. If Julius was sounded in the matter, his first impulse would be to consult Bramante. Bramante, it is well known, urged Raphael's engagement warmly.\* To these possible influences, that of Michaelangelo superadded might seem altogether conclusive.

Raphael was invited to Rome. History, unfortunately, tells neither how nor when he came there.

We saw that he was practising his art at Florence in April, 1508. According to a letter which was first published by Malvasia he was living at Rome in the autumn of the same year. There is reason to believe that this letter, if not quite apocryphal, was altered, at least in the date. Writing to Francia at Bologna, on the 5th of September, 1508, Raphael is supposed to describe the life he is leading at Rome. He says he has got Francia's portrait, but regrets

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\* Vas. viii. p. 13.

that he cannot send his own. Ceaseless occupation, he adds, prevents him from attending to this duty, and he thinks it best not to leave to assistants the work that should properly come from himself. He then alludes to the wish of the Pope's Datary and Cardinal Riario to receive the Madonnas which Francia had engaged to send them.\*

A curious peculiarity of this missive is that its style and wording are not those of Raphael's letter to Ciarla, and the signature is different from that which Raphael commonly used. But this may be due to modern interpolations, or the employment of an amanuensis; and it is more important to lay stress on the conclusions to which the contents must necessarily lead. It would seem that shortly after Raphael wrote to his uncle from Florence, he was summoned to Rome, where he at once acquired the protection of two powerful churchmen. His promotion was so rapid that within five months he moved from one capital to the other, and gained an enormous practice, which led to the engagement of numerous assistants at Rome.

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\* This letter, in Malvasia (Felsina Pittrice, i. p. 45), receives confirmation from the fact that Vasari says (vi. p. 12) that Francia and Raphael exchanged letters, and the same writer adds (vi. p. 6), that Francia painted a picture of Judith; but this leaves other points untouched, and especially that which refers to the question of date. We have assumed (vol. i. pp. 335 and 353—4) that the letter is genuine. A closer

inspection has led us to question the date. Vasari speaks of the two masters' correspondence later on in the century when Raphael painted the St. Cecilia of Bologna. (vi. 12.) Signor Minghetti, in the Nuova Antologia for 1883, says, that "the style of the letter suggests doubts." Perhaps it was genuine, but not written at the time given by Malvasia. See *post*, chap. vi.

No doubt Cardinal Riario in 1508 belonged to the sacred college to which a datary was attached. But we search in vain for a trace of any connection at this time between the datary Gasparo Torella, or the Cardinal Riario, and Raphael.\* Nor is it likely that the master's practice should have taken a permanent shape in a period so short as that which elapsed between his letter to Ciarla and the alleged despatch of his second epistle to Francia. We are thus forced to the conclusion, either that Raphael did not write to Francia in the words transcribed by Malvasia, or that he wrote at a later date; and hence the necessity for trusting to other indications to fix the probable time of Raphael's coming to Rome.

Julius II. took possession of the upper rooms of the Vatican Palace on the day of his coronation, which was the 26th of November, 1507. We have it on the authority of his master of the ceremonies,

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\* Passavant, (*Raphael*, i. note to p. 141) assumes that this Datary is Baldassare Turini. If so, the letter can not have been written in 1508, for Turini was only Datario under Leo X. See De Grassia, *Diarium*, iii. 153 and 484; see also Moroni, *Dizionario Erud. Stor. Eccl.*, xix. pp. 132—3, and Gaetano Marini's "*Degli architetti Pontefici*" Roma. Tom. i. p. 257.

Again, Vasari only mentions the name of Raphael Riario, cardinal of San Giorgio, in connection with the Mass of Bolsena, which was not executed till 1512. In that

picture Raphael is said by Vasari (viii. p. 25) to have painted Raphael Riario's likeness.

It may be that, about the same time, as Passavant conjectures (*Raphael*, 1st German edition, i. p. 174), Raphael executed the Madonna di Loretto; but we have no authority for assuming that Cardinal Riario ordered that picture.

The 2nd edition of Passavant, indeed, affirms what the first only conjectures (*Pass. Raphael* 2nd ed. i. p. 143); but the proofs are not given, nor indeed can they be discovered.

that he loathed the chambers which Alexander VI. had occupied on the first floor, and abhorred the necessity of seeing his predecessor's portrait at every hour of the day.\* Contiguous to his new suite of apartments lay the parlour, now called the Camera dell' Incendio, next to it the camera which afterwards took the name of the Segnatura, and next to that again, the Camera dell' Eliodoro, which opened into the banqueting-hall, or Sala di Costantino. This flight of rooms had been built by Pope Nicholas V., who left his escutcheon on one of the ceilings.† Many of the walls had been painted by artists of note, but, when Julius observed that the decoration was partial and imperfect, his natural impulse was to order its completion. None of the documents which refer to the work, determine the place in which it was done. There are constant allusions to the upper chambers of the Vatican, but nothing explicit is given, except the names of certain painters and the payment of their wages. More than a month after Raphael is supposed to have written his letter to Francia, Sigismund Chigi pledged his word to Julius that "Sodoma should paint as much as might afterwards be valued at the price of 50 ducats, in the upper chambers of the Vatican;"‡ and evidence of style as well as the testimony of Vasari, proves that Sodoma laboured in no other place than

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\* Paris de Grassis, *u. s.*

† Müntz's Raphael, *u. s.* p. 317.

‡ See the record in print in

Müntz's Raphael, p. 319; or in C. Cugnoni's Agostino Chigi, *u. s.* p. 82.

the Camera della Segnatura.\* But the Camera della Segnatura is also the place where Raphael first began to paint at Rome, and we cannot suppose that he came there before Sodoma left. Sodoma was so diligent in this room that the ceiling was finished wholly or in part before Raphael set his foot in the precincts. How long he took to deliver himself is not stated; but Raphael is said to have cleared the rounds and rectangles which his colleague had finished.† The only remnants of the first decoration are the central octagon and eight small pictures, with the intermediate ornament.

The octagon, imagined to be an opening through which the sky is seen, is partly occupied by children supporting the Pope's escutcheon. The small pictures distributed about the rounds and oblongs of Raphael, represent an Emperor haranguing his troops, cavalry delivering a charge, a general crowned by a Victory, and priests performing a sacrifice,—all in the form and tone of antique reliefs. Coloured illustrations of Anacreon, on gold ground, follow. Cupid requites hospitality with an arrow; Venus on a couch spreads her veil to the rising breeze; Vulcan forges the shield of Mars, and Satyrs disturb the slumbers of Antiope.

Sodoma, we are told, composed, designed, and executed all that remains of this design, including the parts which were afterwards cleared away, before Raphael drew a line in the Camera della Segnatura.

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\* Compare the above, and Vasari, xi. p. 147.

† Vas. viii. p. 16, and xi. p. 147.

But this Camera, we must again observe, was the scene of Raphael's first labours, and if Sodoma spent three months in performing his share of duty, Raphael can hardly have begun before the spring of 1509. We must therefore accept the conclusion that it was the Pope's original intention in 1508 to proceed with the adornment of the Vatican chambers without Raphael's aid. And this view is confirmed by records which show that Sodoma was but one of a troop of painters, in which Raphael was not enrolled; a troop which daily came together in the Vatican chambers and frequently enjoyed Bramante's hospitality before Raphaël's arrival.\*

In the papal accounts still accessible to us, the names of several persons new to the annals of painting have been found. Giovanni Ruysch and Michael del Becca are prominent amongst a number of strangers who received wages at the Vatican in the winter of 1508 or the spring of 1509.† Sodoma's

\* In the accounts of the gatherings of artists at Bramante's house, in 1508, Raphael's name does not appear. See Vas. xiii. p. 73, and Temanza's Sansovino.

† "Die viiii. Martij, 1509 : Māgr laurentius lottus de Triuisio pictor confessus est cū effectu recepisse p manus dni hier. fran. d senis fabricar computiste dūcs de car<sup>ni</sup> X pro ducs monete veteris centum. q sunt ad bonū computū laborerij picturar faciendar in Cameris supiobs. pp prope librariam superiorem de qba. qtat. in

forma q et per<sup>t</sup> q In palatio in Cam. Rs<sup>m</sup> Thesaurarij pfitiba. magro Juliano del Toccio et bernardo Silvestri d Florentia scarpellino in Urbe."

The following documents refer to other artists. They date from October, 1508, to January 23, 1510 :—

"Michele de becha o del becca pittore imolese.

"Ambrogio di Benedetto, fiesolano scultore scarp.

"Benedetto gozuti rom. scult<sup>o</sup>. scarp.

name appears in close proximity to that of Bramantino and Lotto. Most of the money charges in the accounts are for work done in "the upper chambers of the Vatican," of which Albertini wrote in 1509 that they had just been restored by the combined efforts of several artists.\*

Neither records nor the book of Albertini contain

"Girolamo del bene scult.  
scarp°.

"Gio. Ant° de bazi da Vercelli  
(il Sodoma), pitt°.

"Giovanni Ruisch, pitt°.

"Bartolomeo Suardi alias Bra-  
mantino milanese pitt°.

"Giuliano da Sangallo archit°.

"13 Ottobre 1508: Il magnifico  
Sigismondo Chigi fa sicurtà per  
Gio. Antonio de Bazi di Vercelli  
(il Sodoma) a cui è commesso di  
fare alcune pitture nelle camere  
superiori del pontefice nel palazzo  
Vaticano.

"14 d'Ottob. 1508 Maestro Giov.  
Ruisch fa ricevuta di 50 ducati a  
buon conto di pitture nel Vaticano.

"4 Dicembre 1508 Michel del  
Becca d'Imola fa ricevuta di due  
cento ducati a buon conto di pit-  
ture nel Vaticano e nella rocca di  
Ostia e fa ricevuta d'altri 200 ducati  
per lo stesso oggetto il 13 di Marzo  
del 1509.

"4 Dicembre 1508. Maestro  
Bartolomeo Suardi di Milano d°  
Bramantino fa ricevuta di ducati  
cento trenta a buon conto delle  
pitture da farsi nel Vaticano.

"4 Decemb° 1508 M° Giuliano  
di San Gallo architetto fa sicurtà  
per mro Antonio Bartolomeo di  
Firenze Maestro di legname.

"9 Marzo 1509 m° Giuliano  
del Toccio fiorentino e m° Girolamo  
d° Fracasso scarpellini ricevono, il  
primo, ducati dugento sedici, l'altro  
cento, per lavori fatti nel palazzo  
vaticano. Il Fracasso fa ricevuta  
d'altri 100, il 3 Xbra, 1509.

"4 Dicembre 1509 m° Raffaele  
di Tommaso de' ciani da Fiesole  
scarpellino fa ricevuta di ducati  
cinquanta a buon conto di due  
pilastri fatti nel Vaticano.

"30 Novemb° 1509 m° Am-  
brogio Badisti d° Cuvula da Fiesole,  
scultore riceve ducati settanta-  
cinque a buon conto di tre pilastri  
da farsi nel Vaticano.

"30 Novemb. 1509 m° Bene-  
detto Gozuti romano del rione  
Pigna scultore riceve cento ducati  
a buon conto di quattro pilastri da  
fare nel Vaticano.

"30 Novembre 1509 m° Paolo  
di Pietro da Pesaro maestro di  
legname riceve 60 ducati a buon  
conto di lavoro fatto sull' altare  
principale e nel palco di s. M°.  
maggiorre, e ducati dugento a buon  
conto di lavori da fare in s. Giov°.  
in fonte (Battistero lateranense)."  
—Note tratte dal codice corsiniano  
n°. 2315 da Francesco Cerroti,  
bibliotecario 20 Aprile 1883.

\* De Mirabilibus, u. s. Lib. iii.



a single allusion to Raphael. We shall, therefore, assume that Julius II. visited the Vatican chambers in the early spring of 1509, and seeing that Sodoma's decorations were not as good as they might have been, ordered them to be taken down.

Meanwhile Raphael had been brought to the Pope's notice by Michaelangelo, Bramante, and, perhaps, Francesco Maria of Urbino. He was sent for to Rome early in 1509. The Pope required that the greater part of Sodoma's design should be cleared away by his successor. Raphael obeyed, and the result of his very first trials in the ceiling of the Segnatura was to convince Julius II. that he had secured the services of a master of mark, and this no doubt led to the subsequent dismissal of Perugino, Peruzzi, Lotto, and Bramantino, who perhaps little dreamt, at the time of Sodoma's departure, that it would so speedily be followed by their own.

The frescos of the Camera della Segnatura are familiar to us under the names of the "Disputa," the "School of Athens," the "Parnassus," and "Jurisprudence." They are the most celebrated of Raphael's masterpieces.\* Connected with them by a subtle relation, are the allegories of theology, philosophy, poetry, and justice in rounds on the ceiling.† Subordinate to

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\* The Disputa, facing the door leading out of the Stanza dell' Eliodoro, the School of Athens opposite the Disputa, Parnassus and Jurisprudence to the right and left about the windows.

† "Theology" above the Disputa, "Philosophy" above the School of Athens, "Poetry" and "Justice" above the Parnassus and Jurisprudence.

these again are compositions in squares above the pendentives of the archings representing the Temptation, the Judgment of Solomon, the Creation of the Planets, and Marsyas and Apollo.\*

Three centuries and more have elapsed since Vasari described these subjects. Various theories have been broached as to the manner in which Raphael was furnished with the classic lore which they illustrate. But little has been elicited, except that the pictures which adorn the walls embody the current ideas of the time in which they were produced. From the Platonists of the school then in vogue, or divines of the humanistic type, of whom there were many at Rome, Raphael may have obtained some important hints.† To one who had seen the "Sages" and "Soldiers" in the palaces of Urbino and Perugia, and the "Planets" and "Sibyls" in the Hall of the Cambio, it might seem an easy task to give shape to the ideas of Julius II., and the master who knew Taddeo Taddei at Florence would naturally learn to consult the humanists at the Vatican. We may dismiss the thought that he was himself a student of books. All the more would he find attraction in the sculpture of the Greeks of which so many

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\* The Temptation, between Justice and Theology; the Judgment of Solomon, between Justice and Philosophy; the Creation of the Worlds, between Philosophy and Poetry, and Marsyas and Apollo, between Poetry and Theology.

† We may safely disbelieve the

claim put forward later in the century by Aretino, who caused Dolce to declare that Raphael never produced anything that had not previously been submitted to himself. Dolce, *Dialogo della Pittura*, 8vo, Milan, 1863, p. 8.

splendid examples were exhibited at his door. Nothing seems more evident than that ancient carvings now attracted his special attention. The necessity for study in that direction was imposed upon him by the very form of the designs which he had to realize in the ceiling of the Camera della Segnatura. However familiar he might be with the allegories of Giotto at Assisi, and Lorenzetti at Sienna, he still must have felt the value of an appeal to the antique in the creation of such ideal figures as those of poetry and philosophy. But when he came to take illustrations of poetry and philosophy directly from classic fables, the sculpture of the Greeks would force itself upon him inevitably. He plunged into this study with an energy which comes to us amply reflected in his works, and such was the pliancy of his organization that, combined with that of nature and the Florentines, it immediately gave rise to the development of new shapes which commingled with, and to some extent superseded, those which had previously sprung from a more limited field of experience. It is by comparing the proportions of the new and old elements of Raphael's manner in the first camera that we determine as it were by a "post mortem" examination the sequence of Raphael's labours; and we thus come to discover that the execution is quite different chronologically from that which the subjects would suggest. It seems logical that the grand picture of the "Disputa" should lead up to the allegory of Theology, and receive subordinate illustration from

the fresco of the "Temptation ;" that the "School of Athens," should lead to the allegory of Philosophy and the Creation of the Planets. In practice the ceiling was painted before the walls.\* Raphael began with the oblongs of the ceiling, then finished the rounds, before descending to the "Disputa," the "School of Athens," "Parnassus," and "Jurisprudence." His trial piece was the "Creation of the Heavenly bodies." The "Judgment of Solomon," followed, after which came the "Temptation" and the "Apollo." In the allegories we meet with reminiscences of various periods. Theology recalls the Perugian and Florentine. Poetry, Michaelangelo, Perugia, and the antique. Justice is Umbrian, Philosophy, classic. We must fall back on the drawings which served as the ground work of the frescos in order to determine how closely their creation was connected in point of time ; and this leads us to the conviction that before he carried out a single picture on the wall, Raphael had distributed and subordinated one to the other all the subjects that found a place in the camera.

Springer has truly observed that the "Temptation" is pictorially a precursor to the "Redemption," of which the "Disputa" is a manifestation ; the triumph of Apollo is a fit homage to Poetry ; Justice finds an illustration in the "Judgment of Solomon." The lessons of Philosophy are ill suggested by a female bending over

\* Passavant (Raphael, i. p. 134) assumes that the ceiling frescos in the Camera della Segnatura were painted after the completion of the

Disputa. But we cannot go with him in this. The art displayed in the Disputa is more mature than that exhibited in the ceiling.

a celestial globe.\* The difficulty which the painter encountered in finding a pictorial representation of the Supreme cause appears to have been insurmountable. He merely imagines a female setting the planet in the middle of a sphere, the periphery of which contains the stars and signs of the zodiac. In shape and air a pagan goddess, this female stoops over the transparent orb on which one of her hands is resting. With dress and girdle flying in the breeze, she sees the earth revolving in the centre of the crystalline ball through which her tunic and feet are visible. Her look and gesture indicate surprise. Two boys at her sides rise on their wings from cloudlets, and smile at each other as they carry the books of the old lore. If grace and measured play of light and shade remind us here of the later expansion of Raphael's art, the affected cadence of movement in the children sends us back in thought to earlier days at Perugia. But Raphael had since visited the monuments of Rome. He had seen the effectiveness of the ornamentation which filled the niches of the older churches. He imitated in colours the cubes of mosaics in the early basilicas.

A sketch of a girl hastily thrown on a sheet in the Albertina at Vienna, shows how Raphael thought over the "Astrology" which was the first subject that exercised his brush at the Vatican.† On the back of

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\* Raphael and Michaelangelo, *u. s.* p. 153.

† Vienna. Albertina. Pen sketch of the Astrology, and a special

study of the left hand. Passavant, No. 205. For the drawing on the back, see *postea*, and Pas. No. 172.

the paper he drew the kneeling mother in the "Judgment of Solomon," evidence enough if it were needed that the two pictures were conceived at the same time. But the figure of a soldier on the same paper is a preparatory sketch for the executioner in the Judgment, as well as for one of the soldiers in Marcantonio's print of the "Massacre of the Innocents," and this coincidence has been noted as illustrating the richness of Raphael's fancy, in whom the flash that reveals one subject also throws a sudden light on the composition of a second.\* These flashes occur with marvellous frequency in Raphael's practice. He combines in the "Massacre of the Innocents" the suggestive bits of his own composition for the "Judgment of Solomon," with movements adapted from Signorelli in the Sketch-book of Venice, and reminiscences of Giotto at Assisi, Duccio at Sienna, and Domenico Ghirlandaio at Santa Maria Novella of Florence;—and yet, it has been justly observed, the sketches at Vienna and Oxford in which the first thoughts for the "Judgment of Solomon" are consigned, both differ in essential particulars from the fresco in the Camera della Segnatura, for here the king is aged and staid, whilst there he is young in face and action. Sitting to the right but in profile to the left on his throne, Solomon turns his glance on the executioner who stands with his back to the spectator and grasps the child by the heels. The true mother throws herself forward to arrest the stroke, the false one, on

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\* Springer, Raphael and M. Angelo, *u. s.* p. 155.

her knees at the foot of the throne, points with both hands at the corpse, which lies on the ground. The laws of composition, and balanced light and shade or contrast in movement and expression are faultlessly applied, though perhaps the fresco reveals less energy and less nature than the sketches from which it was drafted.

In the drawing at Vienna, the executioner is shown with his face and breast to the foreground. At Oxford, he appears in profile, whilst the king displays as much interest as the true mother who moves to save her babe. The strong passion and vehement momentary action which characterize all the figures in the sketches is confined in the fresco within the bounds of a well considered moderation.\* The sketches are taken from models. The fresco embodies a host of reminiscences of the antique, Lionardo and Signorelli. The executioner, standing to the right, with his back to the foreground, whilst his head is turned to the left seems adapted from the horse-tamer on the Montecavallo at Rome, the great classic original which afterwards suggested to Raphael a similar figure in the "Spasimo di Sicilia." But the same individual with the mother anxious to ward off the blow is in Signorelli's "Massacre of the Innocents"

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\* Vienna. Albertina. Pensketch. To the left, the naked soldier, seen frontwise, much in the position of that on the left side of the Massacre of the Innocents by M. Antonio. To the right, in the upper part of the sheet, the torso

of a soldier, beneath which the kneeling mother of the fresco of the Judgment of Solomon. 10½ in. h. by 11½, from the Crozat and Ligne Colls.

\* Oxford. No. 75. Silver point-drawing, 4 in. h. by 5¾.

at Arcevia, and earlier than Signorelli and Raphael, Lionardo had finally introduced the forms and stride of the Roman marble in the fight for the standard at Florence.\*

Six outlines of a naked man, all except one, in the attitude of Adam in the "Temptation" of the Camera della Segnatura, are preserved in a pen sketch at the Louvre. The boldness and rapid execution of the contours are the more striking as they combine the study of nature with that of the Torso of Belvedere. Raphael takes from the torso the twist of the frame and the play of muscle which are its distinct features, and preserves, at the same time, a reminiscence of the grand nudes which Michaelangelo set with such clever strength in the cartoon of the "Bathers." The lie of the legs is varied in each figure. But the fresco shows the painter's final conception. Adam rests on the bank near the tree. The serpent winds its folds round the trunk, and the head, which is that of a woman, appears amongst the branches watching the first man stretching a hand towards the fig which Eve presents. Adam is not less perfect—not less ideal in form than Eve whose body and limbs have the grace of a Greek Venus. But her face, as she appeals to her companion, and the foreshortening of her features as she looks down are memories of

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\* Grimm (Jahrbücher der Kgl. Sammlungen, 1882. Heft iii.) has noticed the resemblance of the figure in the fresco to the horse-tamer. Mr. H. Wallis has pointed out to us the identity of the groups

in the fresco with those in Signorelli's Predella at Arcevia. The figure in Lionardo's Battle of Anghiari is in reverse and represents the captor of a horse like the tamer of Monte Cavallo.



Raphael's Umbrian and Florentine time. They particularly recall the "St. Catherine" of the National Gallery. The head of Eve in the fresco is that which Raphael intended for the allegory of Poetry, before he altered it to the lovely classic shape which it now presents.\*

Apollo and Marsyas formed a subject in the composition of which an appeal to the antique was unavoidable. Raphael showed that he could make the appeal with perfect certainty of success. In the middle of the picture we observe a shepherd holding a crown of laurel above the head of the god, who sits to the left with the lyre in his grasp. His right hand raised in action of command, gives a sign to another shepherd whose knife is ready for the flaying. Marsyas, whose arms are bound to a tree, barely touches the ground with his toes. His shape fairly resembles that of the antique Marsyas of which many examples are still in existence. Raphael's outline of the torso and legs in the Venice Sketch-book and the copy taken from the marble for the fresco are drawn from opposite sides. The original from which the drawing was made, is probably that of the Uffizi which once formed part of the Capranica Collection at Rome.† But Raphael, whilst he copied the statue, also compared similar appearances in nature, and his Venetian Sketch-book

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\* This is evident from the original drawing of the Poetry at Windsor.

† Uffizi, No. 155; see also Gotti's *Gallerie di Firenze*, pp. 76 and 306, who shows how this statue was purchased from the

Capranica Collection in 1584 by Cardinal Ferdinand de' Medici. It was then without feet; but there are other replicas of the statue, one very fine at the Louvre; another of less value in the Villa Albani, at Rome.

contains a variety of the shepherd holding the crown above Apollo's head.\*

The face of the god with his copious locks, or the features of the man with the crown of leaves, form an agreeable contrast with the face and features of Marsyas. A natural variety occurs in the frames and limbs. The space well filled by the group of four, displays some sacrifice of truth to the requirements of a composition affecting the economy of a bas-relief, and this is apparent in the bent arms of Marsyas, as well as in the straggling movement of Apollo's legs.

Raphael at Perugia and Florence had always indulged the habit of taking the best points that he could find in examples of an earlier time. What he took and assimilated now, was recast in a new mould; and given forth in an original shape. In this he was but following Michaelangelo's example, who painted the vault of the Sixtine Chapel on similar principles.

When he had finished the subject pictures and begun the allegories near them, other thoughts swayed Raphael's mind. The painter of Madonnas had to imagine new forms of female grace, or at least forms imbued with feeling different from that which gave life to his holy families. He had to think of new expressions for winged children than those appropriate to the angels of his sacred pieces. The versatility, the copious resources of which he had the command

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\* Compare vol. i. p. 275. The drawing is No. 8, of Frame XXVII., in the Acad. of Venice.

never failed him. The boys who dance on the clouds and carry the tablets, the girl who sits between them holding the book on her knee, pointing significantly downwards at the vision of the heavens below, have quite their own expression of earnest yet serene thought. We call this charming apparition "Theology." But the tablets of the children are more explicit. "*Notitia divinarum rerum.*" The words convey the idea set forth in the fresco beneath, which, for convenience sake, is still called the "Disputa," though it is hardly more than an epitome of religion from the stand-point of Rome at the opening of the 16th century. What strikes us most in the gentle downward look of the face, the features of which are so beautifully framed in auburn hair, garlands of leaves and a veil that floats in the breeze, is the clinging of the painter to a Florentine type reminiscent in almost equal proportions of Perugino and Fra Bartolommeo. Yet attitude and drapery most forcibly recall the pure school of Tuscany.\*

In a drawing of the "Poetry" at Windsor, origin-

\* Time has not been kind to the colours of this beautiful picture. The ground of clouds alone has preserved transparency and light. The drawings for it are the following :—

Oxford. No. 80. Pen and umber, 8 in. h. by 5½. This rapid sketch is that of a beautiful girl, seated with her left hand open. The right points downwards; the book is on her lap. In the fresco the left hand holds the book. On

the back of the sheet a similar figure is accompanied by angels, and beneath it is the tomb surrounded by the apostles—one of Raphael's flashes of thought.

Lille Museum. No. 692. m. 0.235 h. by 0.160. This is a drawing in black chalk or coal, shaded with the stump, and heightened with white for the boy in a tunic carrying the tablet. The head is in profile to the left, the body in profile stride to the right.

ally studied from nature, and transferred with additional drapery to the fresco, we have the head thrown upward, the eyes cast downward, with the Umbrian effect of foreshortening bequeathed to Raphael by Perugino.\* But in the interval which separated the completion of the drawing from its transfer to the wall, the master's whole being underwent a change. He learnt to contemn Perugino's affectations. A masculine power which lay dormant in him, asserted itself. The freshness and candour of earlier creations remained; but something more mature and of higher excellence became manifest in the cast of the features, and the powerful stretch of bone and muscle. The leaves of the laureate's crown nobly encircle the head of Poetry. Her wings are open. Her face is turned in contrasting motion with the twist of her frame. The moulding of the lines is faultless; the eye dark and full of fire. A tunic admirably looped round the waist and arms leaves the right forearm bare. The right hand holds a book at rest on one of the knees; the feet gracefully crossed, and the left hand supporting a lyre, complete the picture. Poetry is conceived as a Sibyl, and the winged genii who carry tablets at her sides proclaim, in the words of Virgil, that she is inspired by the deity.† One of these genii is seated; the other, kneeling on the clouds that

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\* Windsor. Chalk drawing on blue-grey paper, heightened with white, but stained and abraded, 13½ in. h. by 8½, squared for transfer. The head is a counterpart of that in the St. Catherine

of the National Gallery; but that part of the drawing was not used on the ceiling.

† "Numine afflatur," and see Virgil's *Æneid*, lib. vi. ver. 50.

roll round the Sibyl's seat, is cast in the mould of the Christ of the Esterhazy Madonna. It is the mould too, of the Eros of the Greeks. But here, as elsewhere, Raphael seems to feed on classic art. The mask on the arm of the seat is drawn from an antique; the charm of which so powerfully wrought on the master that he drew it in full face and profile on each side of a recumbent river god in a sketch at the Museum of Lille.\*

Justice, waving the sword, holds a balance in her left hand. Her dress and the movement of her head have been cleverly described as a counterpart of those in the "Madonna del Popolo." † The tablets, on which the motto of the picture is inscribed, are held—each of them—by two genii in most charming variety of action.‡ Raphael probably never composed anything so perfect in distribution and line, yet the execution is perhaps feebler than that of the rest of these figures, and, "*Jus suum unicuique*," the original thought for the figure of Justice is in Perugino's version of the same subject at the Cambio.

Philosophy on the other hand embodies more elements of the antique than any of the remaining allegories. Not so much the outward forms of the Diana of Ephesus, which decorate the arms of the chair in which the figure sits, as the figure itself, in a star-bespangled tunic and flowered mantle, with its two

\* Lille. No. 735. Silver-point on rose-coloured paper, 0.11 h. by 0.17.

† Vögelin, Die Madonna von

Loretto, 8vo, Zürich, 1870, p. 6.

‡ The words on the tablets are: "*Jvs. ¶v. unicuique tribuens.*"

hands supporting the books of moral and natural philosophy, and the masculine boys who carry the tablets on which are inscribed "Causarum Cognitio," recall the fine models of the olden time. The seat, the shape, the turn of the head, the noble face are severely dignified and grand; and the creation of this masterpiece alone would tell that Raphael was not consulting the relics of Greek art in vain; nor, indeed, doing so without the guidance of men deep in the study of the classics. If it be true, as Richardson believed, that Raphael wrote to Ariosto to ask for help in defining the character of the persons in the *Disputa*, he must have been very ungrateful to those who, so far, had given him such important help in the allegories of the *Camera della Segnatura*.\*

What thoughts Raphael may have indulged in the attempt to realize the first fresco in the *Camera della Segnatura* is perhaps of greater moment than the bent of the Pope's mind when he gave Raphael his commission. But it is not uninteresting to remark that

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\* Richardson (*Account of Pictures, &c.*, 2nd ed. 8vo, 1754, p. 198) says: "A friend of mine has seen in the hands of Cavalier Pozzo, at Rome, an original letter of Raphael to Ariosto," &c.

The state of the figures in the rounds is not good. "Theology": Restoring at different periods has injured this picture in which the flesh shadows especially have lost their transparency. The green mantle is much damaged. The execution may be due, in parts, to assistants.

"Poetry" seems all from Raphael's hand. "Justice": The draperies here are poor, and these and some other parts may be assigned to Raphael's assistants; but there is some restoring. "Philosophy": Here too some retouching. The four frescos have backgrounds of gold mosaic. There is much roughness of surface. The hatchings have become partially discoloured, and parts are disfigured by retouching.

Julius II., when ordering the "Disputa," recollected that the rebuilding of St. Peter was the great act of his reign—an act by no means to be forgotten in a picture which was to be an epitome of religion. The paramount importance of it was displayed not only in the form, but in the original drafts which Raphael made for its composition. At the Vatican the scene is laid in the court of an unfinished building, of which the marble piers are hardly raised above the heads of the people. The very altar on which the sacrament is exposed seems to figure the marble stone which the Pope, a few years before, had sealed in the depths of the old basilica. On each side of that stone Julius II. and his cardinals had stood; and it now appeared as if the darkness of the excavation had receded, and light had suddenly filled the space, inviting the faithful to look into the boundless ether over which the Eternal presided,—where Christ appeared with the angels and cherubim, and all the generations of saints and patriarchs since Adam. In the picture, as well as in the drafts of it which Raphael successively produced, care was taken to demonstrate that, however near the completion of the edifice might be, the church had not as yet been finished, and workmen were shown in the background of the fresco carrying the stones and the mortar out of which the monument was shaped.

In the time of Julius, when Raphael designed the subjects of the Camera della Segnatura, the mighty sides of the new church had probably not been raised to any considerable height. But the foundations of a

new tribune had been laid by Nicholas V. in the fifteenth century, and on these the marble blocks were set which Æneas Sylvius likened to the giant ruins of ancient walls. These, it has been considered probable, are the colossal surroundings, in the midst of which Raphael placed his generations of divines adoring the host or looking up into the heavens.\* But Raphael tells more clearly in his sketches than in his finished fresco that he meant to depict the unbuilt church. The earliest of his drawings represent the impulses which were at work about him when he started, and though some of these drawings have perished, those which survive amply display his purpose. No sketch more fully reveals his intentions than that which represents one half of a design for the "Disputa" in the royal collection at Windsor. An assembly of churchmen in a court, an array of saints in the sky; beyond these again a second array, including the Virgin bowing to the Majesty of the Redeemer, and angels darting across the heavens. The court in which the churchmen are assembled is bounded by an unfinished gateway and flanking porticos, on the nearest pinnacle of which two angels with ropes support the Pope's escutcheon, whilst an allegorical full length figure, standing on a cloud, seems, like the chorus in a Greek play, to address the spectator and, pointing upwards, confirm that Julius is to complete the edifice of the church.† Another

\* See Grimm's *Leben Raphael's*, 8vo, Berlin, 1872, p. 354.

† Windsor. Pen sketch with umber wash, heightened with

white, 11 inch. square, representing the left-hand side of the composition.



① drawing at Oxford, executed after that of Windsor, shows that Raphael for a time clung to the idea of a double course of clouds; above both the Eternal looking down, Christ beneath, distributing blessings and receiving the adoration of the Virgin, Baptist and other saints, and lower still, prophets or doctors meditating and conversing. It is characteristic of the rapidity with which the painter changed his purpose that here the abandonment of the allegory is indicated. The same figure pointing upwards, yet looking down, occupies a seat in the clouds.\*

More important as divulging the inner life of the master, the drawings also prove what thoughts were uppermost in his mind, and what traditions were potent in their effect upon him, when he first composed the "Disputa." The Oxford sketch of the Eternal, Redeemer and Saints, a bold study of effect in the style of Fra Bartolommeo, only differs in respect of finish from the Windsor design, where a more general manifestation of Raphael's purpose is given in hasty but forcible touches.

The figures are laid in broadly with a brush loaded alternately with umber or with white. The yellow grey of the paper serves in every case to indicate the half tints. The angel darting downward between the rows of saints recalls the winged messenger under the dais of the "Madonna del Baldacchino," the Virgin bending with her arms across,

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\* Oxford. No. 60.  $9\frac{1}{4}$  in. h. | in umber with the brush, and  
by  $15\frac{3}{8}$  in. Drawn and shaded | heightened with white.

the Redeemer in benediction at her side, the saints in the clouds, or divines on the foreground, are—many of them—such as they finally appear in the picture. But the sketch, embryonic as it is, gains interest from the reminiscences which it suggests, and the sources which it reveals. Technically Raphael's work is in the spirit of Fra Bartolommeo; individually some of the figures remind us of those which the great Dominican produced. But the spring from which Raphael drew is that to which Fra Bartolommeo himself appealed; and Lionardo da Vinci is the model from which they both derived their strength. It does not seem to have been noticed that Raphael had a distinct masterpiece of Da Vinci in his mind when he made the first drawings for the "Disputa." How he copied and then transfigured Lionardo's *dramatis personæ* is one of the most remarkable of the numerous feats that he performed.

The picture which inspired him was the "Adoration of the Magi" begun by Lionardo for the monks of San Donato at Florence, abandoned in 1483, and subsequently preserved in an incomplete state in Da Vinci's painting room. Whether Raphael became acquainted with it in Lionardo's house or the palace of Amerigo Benci can scarcely be affirmed with certainty, but he saw it in some spot where he had leisure to master the whole of its contents, and, perhaps, make drawings of most of its figures. Lovers of art of our time will study it at the Uffizi.\* Vasari truly said it remained

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\* Uffizi, No. 1252; and see Vas. vii. p. 19.

unfinished. It was unfinished so far that the subject was only outlined and shaded with umber. The characteristics which make the picture remarkable are admirable distribution, great diversity in the rendering of movements, and marvellous skill in concentrating action at a given point. The focus of the composition is the Virgin Mary with the infant Christ on her lap. Subordinate to that is the movement of the child accepting the gift of the kneeling monarch, and then the never ending forms in which surprise, curiosity and devotion are expressed in the spectators. Conspicuous as figures which struck Raphael on account of their perfection are the two men at the sides of the foreground, one on the left, with his hand on his beard in deep thought looking at the Saviour, another on the right looping up his dress with his left hand and pointing with his right to the Virgin. Near the bearded man two worshippers bend humbly forward, one of them desirous to kiss the feet of Mary. The other, with long curls straggling over his youthful profile, presses to the front with eager devotion. To the right of the Madonna another worshipper strikes us whose fingers are laid on his forehead as he stoops to show his reverence. Except the Virgin and child each of these figures has its counterpart in the sketch at Windsor, a drawing at Chantilly, or the fresco at the Vatican. The current of imitation runs steadily through the designs to the fresco, though little remains at last but Lionardo's thought, assimilated, worked over, and reshaped into something new and original. At the very outset, the reminiscences

of Lionardo are conspicuous in the standing divine or the kneeling people to the left in the Windsor sketch, who press forward to read in their books near a seated prelate. But these are mere indications compared with the closer clinging in the drawing at Chantilly. There Raphael had models before him, some apparently monks, others laymen; all gathered together into two powerful groups. To the left, behind a friar, seated on a chair, the bearded sage in thought with his hand to his chin, next him the disputant with his hand raised and his forefinger pointing to the sky, to the right of these a youth with long locks enframing an expressive profile, and an aged priest, stooping over the Gospels. All of them, near the seated pontiff, are very close adaptations of similar figures in Lionardo's "Adoration." In the companion group on the other side the only striking imitation is that of one who steadies his head with his hand as he peers round to look into the folio held by the bearded prelate in front of him.\* The fresco alone tells of an appeal to Lionardo in the man on the right looping up his mantle and pointing with his finger to the host. That Raphael here remembered Da Vinci is plain from the action as well as the attitude of the figure, yet how new are the spirit and life he infused into this creation! In a similar way he preserved in the fresco the two stooping and kneeling students to the left of Pope Gregory's chair, but in modelling them to their final shape he

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\* Chantilly. Collection of the Duke of Aumale, 0·22 h. by 0·41, from the Reiset Collection. Drawn with the point of the brush washed in umber and heightened with white.

simply obliterated the prominent features which too strongly recalled Da Vinci.

The same sense of the propriety of things and the same feeling of self-reliance which dictated these transformations Raphael also displayed when he found that he was too closely following the track of Fra Bartolommeo. In the Oxford sketch for the upper part of the "Disputa," one of the figures on the margin of the sheet represents a saint grasping the edges of a volume of the Gospels. In studying the model for different movements of the drapery or hands of this figure, Raphael so nearly lost his identity that one almost thinks the run of the contour and the coal shading are those of Fra Bartolommeo. The freedom and sweep of line which characterize the drawings of the friar seem to meet us in every part.\* But Raphael divested himself in the fresco of all that recalled the manner of the Frate; and though St. Paul in the Camera della Segnatura very nearly resembles the study at Oxford, it is thoroughly Raphaelesque and original.

In the great dearth of records or historical facts which makes Raphael's life so difficult to construct, the knowledge to be obtained from drawings is so valuable that we regret to have to register the loss of designs for the upper part and right side of the "Disputa."†

\* Oxford. No. 63. In charcoal and black chalk on rough paper, shaded with stumping and heightened with white, 15 in. h. by 10½. This figure becomes a St. Paul in the fresco.

† See Pas. Raphael, ii. p. 532, and Raphael Collection at Windsor, p. 181. There were drawings of these parts in the Crozat and St. Morys Collections.

Meanwhile the drawings already noticed at Windsor, Oxford, and Chantilly, tell that Raphael's first thought was to lay the scene of his picture in a court lined with buildings of a certain height. He set the sacred hierarchy in several courses in the heavens. The working out of this plan in the dominant styles of Fra Bartolommeo and Lionardo sufficiently indicates that Raphael at the time was fresh from the Tuscan capital. The abandonment of the plan, and the substitution of a new one in which the distribution of the clouds was made in a more simple way, and the court was conceived as a space fringed with very low walls, is revealed in a new set of drawings which introduce us to a second period of Raphael's labours at Rome. What he gained by suppressing the porticos of his first composition was a greater breadth of sky and of foreground. His efforts to fill the spaces are shown in numerous preparations, which all testify to his patience and conscientiousness. Among the earlier pieces of this series one in the Staedel collection at Frankfort represents the left side of the foreground of the "Disputa," and affords a striking illustration of the facilities which he possessed for distributing groups in a large area; the model has evidently been set in different attitudes. The floor is divided into platforms at different levels and in this artificial space the nudes are cleverly marshalled and arranged. On the extreme left a man in profile rises with one leg from a lower to a higher platform. Another near him, in similar action, presents his back to the spectator. Further on, three

youths press forward in kneeling postures, at the side of a chair on which a fourth sits looking up and supporting an open book. A second chair on a line with the first is filled with another figure looking down, and near it is a third kneeling. Other naked shapes are distributed with skill in subordinate positions at various distances. Though Raphael at last only preserved the two seated men and the kneeling one, who severally represent in the fresco St. Gregory, St. Jerom, and St. Bernard, the form of arrangement which he had selected was that to which he eventually clung. The Frankfort sketch may, therefore, be considered as part of the groundwork of the picture.\* But independently of this it also possesses a special interest. It contains a figure on the verge of the left side of the foreground which recurs with very slight variety in the Louvre drawing for the Adam of the "Temptation," and this permits us to presume that Raphael was composing the second version of the "Disputa" before he had brought the ceiling frescos to completion. But besides this, another fact comes prominently before us. When revising his first scheme for the "Disputa," Raphael ceased to work in the style of Fra Bartolommeo, and gave up his leanings towards Lionardo. The "Disputa" must therefore have been the first subject of which he undertook the plan. The absence of further drawings

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\* Frankfort. Staedel Collection. Pen and ink drawing, worn, and pinholed for use: 18 figures originally. A copy, much faded

and torn, of this drawing is in the Windsor Collection; but there are two figures omitted on the extreme left, and two on the extreme right.

in the spirit of Lionardo and the Dominican proves that the "School of Athens," "Parnassus," and "Jurisprudence," were designed after the first project of the "Disputa" was discarded for a second and improved composition.

It was inevitable that a picture which had been the result of many compromises should exhibit less uniformity of style than others created when the ferment in the master's mind had gone down. Yet in spite of all the elements of disharmony which remained in the "Disputa" to the end, there is perhaps no fresco by Raphael which interests the spectator more; and it would almost seem as if there should be something human and significant of the struggles of its creator in a work of art to make it thoroughly enjoyable. However unequal some of the parts may be, the "Disputa" as a whole produces the effect of a splendid vision.

Christ appears on a seat in the clouds, clad to the waist in the white shroud which leaves his frame uncovered and exposes the lance wound. The two hands raised to exhibit the stigmata, a grand earnestness of the face tell of the redemption as much as the bending form of the Virgin, or the Baptist who sits with the reed cross in his grasp and points to the judgment seat. A halo of rays, fringed with a semicircle of light in which cherubs' heads are flying, encircles the group, and gives it that archaic character of the old church pictures which tells how incompletely Raphael as yet had emancipated himself from the traditions of the Umbrian school. God the Father, in tunic and mantle, is seen to the waist above the corona of



cherubs, bearing the crystal orb and giving the benediction. His bearded head, enframed in a lozenge-shaped halo, reveals to us the old præ-Raphaelic type of the mid-Italian Church, revived by a disciple who was about to surrender it for ever. There remain, of the Umbrian, the hems and borders heightened with gold and a very minute system of treatment. But the study of classic forms is apparent in the grandeur of the frame and its movement, and the noble solemnity of the attitude and gesture. Reminiscent of old tradition, too, are the rays that fall fan-like from the sky. They shoot through an atmosphere peopled with the faint shapes of boy angels thrown on a star-bespangled ground, on the lower skirt of which, other angels, in jubilant flight, support a fringe of cloud. But in the air before this cloud, and at the sides of the Eternal, there float in a radiant ether six beautiful winged seraphs, more expressive of victory as conceived by the genius of the Greeks than of that great but serene joy which was best embodied in the celestial creations of Angelico. The dove at Christ's feet, four boys with wings carrying the volumes of the Gospels, complete the central group, which seems poised in air in the midst of a semicircle of clouds on which we discern, at a glance, the guardian figures of St. Peter and St. Paul seated at the extremes, and, facing each other as they recede, Adam and Abraham, John the Evangelist and James the Elder, Moses and David, Lawrence and Stephen, and Jeremiah and Judas Maccabæus. There is something grand in the attempt to waft our thoughts across the ages by showing

us the generations from the first created man to the champion of the Jewish faith, the apostles and the patron saints of Rome. But painting is powerless to do more than convey these ideas superficially, though Raphael did his utmost to realize the solemnity of such a moment.\* Round the altar, bounded on one side by blocks of half-dressed marble, on the other by a landscape of low hills sloping to a lake, the fathers and doctors of the Church are gathered in sitting, kneeling, and standing attitudes, so as none but the genius of Raphael could have placed them. Leaning on a stone balustrade on the left foreground a man of ripe age calls attention to the pages of a volume into which others are peering; he speaks to a youth who points, as he walks, to the altar. In the first of these figures we distinguish the features of Bramante. The attitude and face of the second recall the vision in the foreground of the Windsor sketch. On the distant hill, behind the group, workmen are busy with a sacred building; and this, in combination with the half-raised walls on the right hand of the picture, shows that Raphael, guided by the Pope and Bramante, was willing to suggest the approaching completion of the temple of the Universal Church. The triumph of the painter is displayed in his distribution of the Christian champions who alternately wrestle with doubt, or accept the truth in transports of faith and eager devo-

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\* Peter with the Keys, Paul with the Sword, Abraham with the Knife, Moses with the Tables, | and David with the Harp are naturally most distinguishable.

tion at the foot of the altar. To the right and left of the sacramental cup, the four doctors variously display the feelings by which they are agitated. Jerom seems lost in the study of the book over which he is bending. Gregory looks up to heaven as if receiving the Revelation; Ambrose on the other side has already been struck by it. Augustine more calmly confides his impressions to a secretary who sits on the step near him. The movements thus created at the centre of the picture are prolonged to the right and left sides of the composition.\* St. Gregory, parted from the eager youths who bend or kneel round his chair by the stalwart figure of an adept who has deposited his books on the ground, is attended by bishops and other adherents, who partly fill the background, and partly connect it with the group of Bramante and his companions. On the other side, the man who stoops over the parapet of marble to follow the sign of the draped sage at his side, is parted from Ambrose and Augustine by Thomas Aquinas, Pope Anaclet, St. Bonaventura and Innocent III., in rear of whom we distinguish the head of Dante, who stands in the press just in front of the monk Savonarola. The names of these divines are alternately disclosed by inscriptions round the nimbs encircling their heads or features made familiar to us by innumerable portraits.

The fresco produces such an imposing effect at the

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\* It is difficult not to paraphrase the fine description of this fresco by A. Springer, *u. s.*

first glance, that one almost thinks that Raphael successfully concealed the process by which he gradually rose to perfection.\* On nearer inspection, the different stages of progress are exhibited in the contrast between the old school symmetry of the figures in the heaven, and the modern elements in the groups of the foreground. The archaic form of the Eternal is not in unison with the natural air of the winged children, who carry the Gospels at the sides of the dove. It is not in harmony with the ideal grandeur of the seraphs in threes who attend the Eternal. God the Father scarcely embodies any of the new life which Raphael infused into his style at Florence. The Redeemer showing the stigmata is finer than the companion figure at Perugia, whilst the fathers, saints, and apostles on the clouds are draped with less dignity and breadth than their compeers at San Severo. Where Raphael diverges as it were into another world of art, is at the point where he places in front of the clouds his seraphs in threes. Here we find ourselves arrested by evidence of that study of the antique which appeared in the pictures of the ceiling of the Camera della Segnatura. The more we look at these beautiful creations, the more we are convinced that they afford a fresh clue to Raphael's life in those days. Assiduous in study at the museum of the Vatican, he was also a minute observer of the oldest remains of sculpture and ornament in the streets of Rome. One step further, we


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\* Springer has expressed the belief that this was really achieved | by Raphael, *u. s.*, Raphael and Michaelangelo, p. 146.

trace him to the ruins with which the Eternal City was strewn, and there we find him copying the outlines and movements of allegorical figures invented by the genius of the Greeks, transferred by their Roman victors to the palaces of the patricians, and rescued, in part, from total loss by the artists of the revival. If time had been kind to these fragments of classic painting, they might doubtless still be pointed to as the source of Raphael's inspiration. But the evidence of his search for them is so imperfect as almost to baffle investigation. Yet circumstantial proofs may still be found that his patience in finding bits of old painting was as great as his skill in adapting them to his own purposes. Piranesi has preserved amongst his engraved collection outlines of figures, discovered at Herculaneum. One of them is a draped female in profile. A scarf passing under her arm floats in graceful curve over her shoulder and bellies to the breeze that stirs the skirts of her tunic. A sun-dial in her hand is emblematic of the flight of time. Another, of equal grace, seen from behind, is the semblance of a woman with a spray of leaves and flowers in one hand and a sun resting on the other. Herculaneum, we believe, was unknown to the men of Raphael's time. Yet the shapes which Piranesi copied from the walls of a city unexplored in the 16th century are identical with those which Giovanni da Udine and Perino del Vaga reproduced under the name of the "Hours" in the palace of the Vatican. They prove that the models which served at Herculaneum were taken from Roman originals—

multiplied on account of their beauty by southern craftsmen.

It is characteristic of the "Hours," that the subtlest critics of the 19th century ascribed them to Raphael, whilst ignorance of the place in which they were executed was absolutely universal. We shall have occasion to show that they formed part of the decoration of the ceiling of the Sala Borgia, and that they were probably taken from copies which Raphael made from antique fragments. The "hour" represented by a nymph with a censer is taken from the same type as Raphael's "Galatea." The girl with a vase who pours the contents to the ground is almost a counterpart of the Hour in Raphael's "Banquet of the Gods." Others will be found in the fresco of "Parnassus." But the most telling proof of the præ-Raphaelic origin of these figures is derived from the "Disputa," where the seraphs floating in the sky at the Eternal's sides are moulded in forms reminiscent of those which distinguish the deity resting the sun on her outstretched hand, the goddess who supports the moon on her extended arm, or the female who raises aloft the fatal hour-glass. Raphael may have recollected the seraphs in Signorelli's "Paradise" at Orvieto. He can hardly have failed to visit the ruins which still bore traces of old classic art; and there, he learnt to engraft the Florentine style on the antique stock, and produce those lovely beings which remind us at once of the angels of Fra Bartolommeo and the Victories and Bacchantes of the Greeks. But whilst Raphael based his work upon these firm



and imperishable foundations, he did not neglect to test the value of his labours by comparison with nature. His outlines of seraphs at Oxford were sketched from models, and reversed for use in the sky of the "Disputa." To catch the movements of the lower limbs, he set the youths whose action he watched in running motion, observed the turn of their heads, and the sway of their arms and bodies as they ran, and thus combined the study of the human shape with that of the ancients. It is marvellous to see with what quickness of stroke and economy of means he realized the contour, the impulse, and expression of these heavenly messengers. The finish of the fresco hardly reveals the boldness and strength of the sketches, though both are brimful of grace.\*

In respect of other parts of his picture, Raphael had long since considered his art as final. The young Christ, the Baptist, or cherubs were familiar things, which he had worked out, subject to final polish, on the basis of the classic and Tuscan. The

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\* Oxford. No. 67. Pen drawing in umber,  $10\frac{3}{4}$  in. h. by  $7\frac{1}{2}$ . The figures here are moving from right to left; but, being reversed in the fresco, are there turned from left to right. The two foremost of the group are nearly alike in the drawing and the left side of the picture. The third figure is less faithfully copied. Beneath the group of three in the drawing is a first thought for the foremost angel in the group of three seraphs on the right side of the fresco. On

the back of the sheet, another edition of the last-mentioned seraph, with drapery.

A companion design for the right-hand group of seraphs exists in the Malcolm Collection. It was exhibited at the Grosvenor Gallery (No. 616) in 1877—8, comes from the Lawrence Collection, and measures  $10\frac{1}{2}$  in. h. by 14. Another sketch of angels connected with these groups and the cherubs behind them is in the Esterhazy Collection at Pesth.

drawings at Oxford of angels in flight, combined with studies of heads and hands and open books which served for the "Disputa," remind us less of progress at Rome than of early work at Florence; and memories of the Madonna del Baldacchino, or the Madonna del Cardellino, are evoked at sight of the boys holding the Gospels near the dove of the Holy Ghost.

All the more do we conclude that Raphael first conceived the "Disputa" in the spring of 1509, when Fra Bartolommeo composed and finished the "Majesty of the Eternal," at San Romano of Lucca. The children circling round the Almighty in this grand composition, fly gracefully with garlands, or hold between them strings of pearls. Under the feet of God Almighty a winged boy grasps the ends of a scroll. The striking point in these beautiful beings is masculine strength, tempered by Raphaelesque grace. In the "Disputa," the salient feature in the boys supporting the Gospels is their unmistakeable relation to the choristers of the Madonna del Baldacchino and the fore-shortened cherubs in the altarpiece of Lucca.\* Raphael thus took to Rome, in 1509, the memories of his intercourse with Fra Bartolommeo, transfiguring with exquisite feeling the shapes originally suggested by his friend, whilst the Tuscan friar, on his part, transferred into the "Majesty" at Lucca the

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\* Rumohr observed these incidences, from which he opined (Forschungen, iii. p. 71), that Raphael had a share in the execution of the altarpiece of Lucca.

But we should doubt so close a relation between Fra Bartolommeo and Raphael as Rumohr's opinion involves.



Umbrian gentleness which he had caught from his contact with Raphael. Lionardo, or Michaelangelo, would have gone into the principles of things to realize perfections which they had not yet acquired; but Raphael came and saw and won without trouble. What he made his own he gave back with the Raphaelic mark, mindful, no doubt, of such studies as he had himself made to combine the ideal of the antique with that of craftsmen of his own age,\* yet without the scientific longings of his older and perhaps more profound contemporaries. The Florentine spirit, and a reflex of the influence of Fra Bartolommeo, lurk in the cartoon of the "Eternal" at the Louvre,† or the study of drapery for the Redeemer of the "Disputa" in the Museum of Lille.‡ Heads and hands in the Oxford design take us to the foreground of the Vatican fresco, where the young man at the left side of the composition looks at the spectator as he points to the host on the central altar.§ Coal, black chalk, and flake-white, brown

\* Mindful perhaps of the studies of children in a drawing, No. 52, at Oxford, where we have seen figures of boys together with designs for the St. Catherine of the National Gallery (*antea*, vol. i. p. 342).

† Louvre. No. 321. "Eternal," front face, the right hand raised for the blessing, coal and black chalk drawing with some touches of white on the gray-brown paper. m. 0.44<sup>8</sup> h. by 0.37<sup>7</sup> (hexagonal shape). Pricked for use as a cartoon.

‡ Lille. No. 732. m. 0.41 h.

by 0.26<sup>5</sup>. On the back, a very slight pen outline of the fathers in clouds, at the right side of the "Disputa."

The Eternal is merely indicated as regards the head and torso, and the study is one of drapery, laid on rapidly with a brush in umber, heightened with white and squared for transfer to a cartoon.

§ Oxford. No. 62. Silver-point on pale green prepared ground, 11½ in. h. by 8½. There are headless studies for the two angels in flight, together with drawings of

line, with umber washes and white, silver-point, hatched shading—Raphael uses each of these methods indiscriminately, but all of them with supreme mastery.

But mastery, or quickness and effectiveness, were qualities which Raphael was now putting forth exuberantly. It would hardly be sufficient to say that a broader treatment marks the council of churchmen in the foreground of the "Disputa," than the attendance of saints in the sky. The spirit of distribution and grouping in the former reveals a larger grasp of the principles of Lionardo than Raphael had ever shown before. The maxims of Da Vinci are applied with deeper insight into the rules of contrast by light and shade and characteristic individualism in the persons represented. But some figures strike us naturally more than others. Conspicuous among the latter is the man on the steps near St. Gregory, who presents his back to the spectator, after leaving his books on the ground. The classicism of this, perhaps the latest creation of the master for the "Disputa" is due to fitness of action, purity and correctness of drawing, and monumental generalization of drapery. The man on the right foreground, who gathers the folds of his mantle as he points out the altar to the eager companion at his side, is equally grandiose in shape,

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- the volumes they hold, the head  
(twice repeated) of the man on the  
left foreground, and the hand with

which he points to the host. On  
the back of this drawing is a  
sonnet.

in attitude, and in features ; and the manliness of his face is not less remarkable than the strength and correctness of outline in his limbs and extremities. Nothing is more telling than the contrast between him and the stooping sectary who strains his neck to look over the parapet on which he is leaning. The principle illustrated by effects of contraries in this couple is applied with equal success at the left side of the picture, where Bramante's bending movement is a counterpoise to the straight action of the youth in long locks who looks round at the spectator.

But in these, and other parts of his composition, Raphael did not reach the point at which the limit of his power then lay without a series of efforts, of which happily we can trace the chronology by drawings. Out of seventeen nudes which we saw him transfer to a sheet at Frankfort, not more than four or five were preserved in the fresco.\* But all of them together give an approximation to the composition as it finally stood. Nor is it to be forgotten that this drawing, besides its value as a clue to Raphael's course in distributing his subject, gives evidence of real progress in the definition of flesh modelling, and the rendering of action affecting the lie and position of bone and muscle. No doubt the origin of the Academical in Raphael lies here, an element which predominates in Marcantonio's "Massacre of the Innocents." But the Academical or

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\* Ex. g. one of the kneeling attendants at the side of St. Gregory, St. Gregory himself, St. Jerom, and the monk at St. Jerom's feet, are all that Raphael kept in the fresco.

unimaginative in art was not obtruded in finished pictures; it remained concealed in sketches and studies.

When the nudes were finished, it would naturally occur to the draughtsman to clothe them. The statuary here has a great advantage over the designer. The substance over which he lays his drapery exists. The designer, on the other hand, has the choice of modifying the original naked form, and this it seems Raphael did. He set his pupils to drape the nudes; and we probably owe to their industry the drawings that are now shown at Chatsworth and Pesth under Raphael's name.\* The true shape transferred to the wall is that which the master consigned to paper in a spirited but sketchy water-colour at the Albertina of Vienna, where indeed Bramante is as yet still wanting, but the distribution of several other figures is final. The young man who waits on Bramante assumes the dress represented in the fresco, whilst one of the kneeling disciples of St. Gregory is all but sacrificed for the sectary who stands with his back to

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\* Chatsworth. Pen and ink sketch with most of the figures in the foregoing, except those of the group in converse in rear of the three kneeling proselytes. The execution is not sufficiently good for Raphael, but would be called good in some of his best pupils:.

Pesth. Esterhazy Collection. The same as the foregoing, with the addition of a group of four in rear of the three kneeling proselytes.

A rapid sketchy piece, drawn with festooned drapery, washed in umber and heightened with white. This is the loosest of all the drawings, but still very clever.

Another drawing of this class is in the portfolios of the Louvre Collection; a copy washed in bistre and white, 0.46 h. by 0.87, exhibited as late as 1845, under the number 591, but since withdrawn.

the spectator in advance of the Pope's chair. Two of Gregory's immediate attendants are also now characterized as mitred bishops.\* The period of Bramante's introduction into the picture is marked by a splendid study of his head, figure, neck, and hands in the Louvre, superior in most respects to other designs, in themselves admirable, for isolated parts or extremities at Oxford.†

The zeal of collectors has not been rewarded by the discovery of any preparations for the right side of the foreground of the "Disputa"; but rapid outlines of a man in a bending attitude, an equally rapid rendering of the two men resting against the parapet, and a finished study of the foot of one of

\* Vienna. Albertina. This drawing, washed in umber and picked out in white, is executed with great mastery. It contains seventeen figures, injured by wear and much restoring. There are copies of it in the Ambrosiana and the Santarelli Collection in the Uffizi at Florence.

† Louvre. No. 322. Silver-point on gray paper. m. 0·413 h. by 0·278. At the top of the sheet a modelled study of Bramante's neck, his head lower down coinciding in features with Vasari's print portrait; beneath these, four hands, of which two are on the fresco, and crosswise, lower down, the parapet and drapery of the whole figure.

Oxford. No. 61. Silver-point on pale greenish prepared ground, 11½ in. h. by 8¼. Profiles and one hand of the two kneeling proselytes in the fresco, besides the profile and

full face of a bishop, slightly different from those introduced into the wall painting.

Oxford. No. 64. Charcoal and black chalk heightened with white, 15½ in. h. by 10¼. Studies of the drapery of the kneeling man, and the standing figure next to him on the right in the fresco.

The sketch of this last figure, together with that of a recumbent female is No. 65 at Oxford, 15½ in. h. by 10¾. On the back of the sheet, again a study for the drapery, shaded with the brush over black chalk.

Another study of drapery in the same spirit as the foregoing is No. 66 at Oxford, shaded with umber, washed with white. It seems to have been drawn for the mantle of the young man standing near Bramante.

them, are preserved in the British Museum, whilst the sketch of their foreshortened neighbour is in the Museum of Montpellier, and the mitred St. Ambrose, grouped with other saints, has a resting place in the collection of the Albertina.\* Though none of these masterpieces exactly tally with their counterparts in the "Disputa," they are all in themselves admirable, as tentative efforts of an artist who never made up his mind to complete anything without having turned his models in every direction to see which attitude or movement would please him best, or more completely fit into the body of his composition. In every case the display is worthy of the greatest painter of his time. But side by side with these there are other pen sketches, remains of verses, and exercises in rhyme, which show that Raphael was in love when he painted the "Disputa."

If we may credit the sentiments expressed in the lines which cover the drawings for that fresco, Raphael's love was spent on a woman above him in station. Tradition says that he wooed a baker's daughter; and one of the finest of his portraits has borne the name of the "Fornarina." Whatever may be

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\* British Museum. From the Lely, Bruce, and Cracherode Collections. Pen and ink rapid sketches for the two foreground figures at the parapet of the right side, with a finished drawing of the foot of one of them, rapidly executed, and with great mastery. The foot alone coincides with the final work in the fresco.

Montpellier. Fabre Museum. Study in pen and ink for the man stooping over the parapet on the right of the fresco.

Vienna. Albertina. Pen and ink hasty sketch of St. Ambrose and the saint with outstretched arm near him, and another figure with foreshortened face.

true of tradition or sonnets, the fact appears to be that Raphael vainly strove for the crown of poetry. So quickly was he convinced of his own imperfection in that respect, that he ceased to write verses almost immediately after he first attempted them. Amongst the most daring and successful of his sketches for the "Disputa," are the pen outline of the sectary at Montpellier, and the profiles of the bending and kneeling proselytes near St. Gregory at Oxford. Quaint is the contrast between the power which the artist wields, and the "solo, nolo, dolo, rei, lei, dei, or pense, pose, rose," which reveal the struggles of the poet on the same pages. Raphael was always bold. He was never slow to try his own strength; and, in painting, there was no difficulty which he could not overcome. But he also had the courage to confess his own defects. He felt that in trying verse he was going beyond his last, and he did not wait for the cobbler to tell him so.\*

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\* The sonnets have been printed. | in Grimm's *Leben Raphaels*. 8vo.  
The most complete transcripts are | Berlin, 1872.

## CHAPTER II.

Impression created by the frescos of the Camera della Segnatura.—

Technical powers of execution at this period of Raphael's career.—

Raphael's avocations.—The "Laocoon."—Doubts as to the exhibition

of any part of Michaelangelo's frescos at the Sixtine in 1509.—As to

rivalry between Raphael and Michaelangelo at this time.—The

"School of Athens."—Sources from which the subject was taken.—

Bramante Raphael's possible adviser.—Description of the fresco and

its contents.—Cartoon at the Ambrosiana.—Mode of transfer to

the wall.—Studies from models afterwards idealized.—Introduc-

tion of important figures at a late stage.—Portraits of Bramante,

Raphael, Perugino.—Elements of earlier art studies displayed.—

Umbrian features eliminated.—Technical improvements.—Colour.

—The Antique put under contribution for sculptural decoration.—

The Apollo.—Minerva.—Bas-reliefs.—Drawings of this time.—The

"Parnassus."—Comparison of Marcantonio's print and early draw-

ings of Raphael.—The fresco earlier than the print.—Descriptions

of the fresco.—Sannazaro.—The Poets, and drawings of them.—

Prudence, force, and moderation.—Gregory IX. issuing the Decretals.

—Melozzo and Raphael.—Portraits of Julius II., Cardinals Giovanni

de' Medici, Alexander Farnese, and De' Monti.—Justinian issuing the

Pandects.—The poems of Homer laid in the tomb of Achilles.—

Augustus saves the *Æneid* from the fire.—Completion of the frescos

of the Camera della Segnatura.

At the first glance, the venerable remains of Raphael's frescos produce a feeling of awe rather than a clear sense of pleasure. There is a hoar of age covering the pictures which conceals in some measure the grandeur and perfection of the work which they embody. But when the eye has become accustomed to this hoar, the first impression of disappointment wears off. The symmetry of the distribution, the



beauty of the lines, the nice balance of light and shade, and the harmony of the colours are brought home to us, and at last we fancy that the subject is before us as the master created it. We think of the painter as one who laboured in the very room and trod the very space in which we are moving. In communion as it were with the artist, we pass from one subject to the other and are struck at each turn with the inexhaustible supply of artistic power which he reveals. Here and there, it may be, there is less of the impress of Raphael's brush than we might expect; yet even the journeymen acquired a certain measure of skill in concealing their processes of handling, or Raphael himself was more careful to blend their touches with his own, and the Camera della Segnatura bears more than any other the stamp of Raphael's unadulterated style.

The difficulties which required to be overcome in the "Disputa" were those which remained unsolved at San Severo of Perugia. The clever certainty of hand which marked Andrea del Sarto and Fra Bartolommeo, had not been as yet acquired. Spots which offend the eye will be found scored with cross hatchings and retouches, which are foreign to the practice of pure fresco. After a lapse of centuries, the surfaces are bleached; and the hatchings no longer match the rest of the pigments. Chemical action has discoloured the retouches. They obtrude, where they formerly harmonized. Age also has baked the surface of the walls, and fissures have cracked the plaster; and some of the finest creations

of Raphael's genius are injured beyond recovery. Yet enough is left to challenge all our admiration, and we still wonder at the greatness of the will which designed and finished these immortal pictures.\*

Fresh from the contemplation of the Chambers of the Vatican, we feel a longing to retrace, if only for a few short hours, Raphael's daily avocations. We turn to the pages of historians and find them a blank. With what pleasure should we not read such an anecdote as that which is told of Michaelangelo and Giuliano da San Gallo. These artists are sitting together on a winter's day in 1506, when a messenger comes in haste from Julius II. to say that a statue had been found in the ruins of the palace of Titus. Michaelangelo and Giuliano take horse, and ride to the spot, where they recognize the Laocoon. Giuliano exclaims, it is the masterpiece described by Pliny. Michaelangelo's practised eye detects Pliny's mistake in thinking that the group was cut from a single block of marble.†

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\* The hatchings and retouching of the "Disputa" were done, after the fresco had dried, with distemper colours. Chemical action in the distemper parts has blackened the hatchings, or turned them white. Of the latter, we note particularly the result in the mantle of the Virgin Mary.

The best preserved part of the picture is its left side. A small fissure is open under the Virgin's foot, and runs downwards to the altar. A second one, close by, has less importance. Fissure No. 3

opens to the left of the Eternal, passes in zigzag down the body of the Saviour. Fissure No. 4, down the figures of the Baptist and Judas Maccabeus, is shorter than fissure No. 5, which disfigures the St. Lawrence, Thomas Aquinas, and the secretary on the steps. A fissure, above Dante's head, only affects the architecture of the background.

† Fea. Miscel., i. p. 329, and Notizie, pp. 21-2. Also Volaterrano Comment. Urbis, lib. 6; Albertini, De Mirab. Romæ, lib. 2;

We may suppose that Raphael had messages, perhaps even visits, from the Pope in the Chambers of the Vatican. But something that actually happened and remained on record, like the finding of the Laocoon, is wanting in this period of Raphael's life. We only know that when the Laocoon was exhibited in the Belvedere museum, Bramante, in 1510, caused it to be copied by several artists whose labours were then submitted to Raphael's judgment.\*

One important event may possibly have been witnessed by Raphael at this time. If it be true, as Albertini suggests and later historians have thought, that Michaelangelo, in autumn 1509, allowed the frescos of the "Genesis" on the ceiling of the Sixtine Chapel to be publicly exhibited,† we cannot doubt that Raphael took instant advantage of the occasion. But there is no positive certainty as to this display; and stories connected with later ones apply *mutatis mutandis* to different periods.‡ It may be true that

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and C. Trivulzio to P. Trivulzio, June 1, 1506, in Bottari's *Lettere*, iii. p. 474.

\* Vas. xiii. p. 72. Sansovino, one of the competitors, left Rome at the close of 1510 or the opening of 1511. His contract to furnish a statue of St. James for the Florentine Cathedral is dated June 20, 1511. See Annot. Vas. xiii. p. 75.

† Albertini (*De Mirabilibus*, u. s. lib. 3) describes the central rectangle of the ceiling as being finished by Michaelangelo when he wrote in 1509.

‡ There is a letter of Michaelangelo to his father, in which, writing from Rome, Buonarrotti says that he is about to finish and exhibit a part of the Sixtine Chapel. Grimm (*Michaelangelo*, u. s., i. p. 336, ed. of 1879) and Heath Wilson (*Michaelangelo*, p. 163) assign to this letter the date of Oct., 1509. But we shall presently see that the true date may be 1511. With what energy Michaelangelo began his work in 1508 is shown in the diary of P. de Grassis, who wrote May 12, 1508:—

“Vesperæ in vigilia Pentecostes.

during the progress of the Sixtine Chapel and Camere the rivalry of Raphael and Michaelangelo became acute. Yet there is hardly ground for thinking that it was in 1509 that Michaelangelo was threatened with the direct opposition of which Condivi and Vasari speak ; \*— the opposition which aimed at substituting Raphael for Michaelangelo in the completion of the Sixtine Chapel. One of the principal grounds for thinking that no such opposition was then made is that Buonarrotti continued his labours at the Vatican, whilst Raphael went on painting at the Camere. The Pope, who had easy access to both places, may have compared the pictures of the two painters, and contrasted the beauties of the “ Disputa ” with those of the “ Creation ” or the “ Deluge ; ” but as each of the two masters had begun a series of works that required unity of thought as well as of handling to complete them, the anecdotes of which artistic annals are full can scarcely apply to the period at which we have now arrived in Raphael’s life. There is certainly no trace in his labours at the Camera della Segnatura of any such alterations as

Hodie papa non venit ad vespas,  
quæ habitæ sunt in capella palatii  
. . . In altis cornicibus capellæ fa-  
bricabatur cum maximis pulverijs  
et operarii ita jussi, non cessabant.  
Ego autem cum aliquoties operarios  
arguissem . . . et illi non cessarent,  
ivi ad papam, qui mecum quasi  
turbatus est . . . fuit opus quod  
papa duos successive de suis came-

rariis mitteret, qui juberent cessari  
ab opere, quod vix factum est.”  
Diarium MS. Bibliothèque Natio-  
nale, Paris, No. 5164, vol. ii. p.  
221. Paris de Grassis is silent as  
to any display of the paintings of  
the Sixtine in 1509. But we shall  
see him allude to them in 1511.

\* Condivi, *u. s.* p. 40. Vas. viii.  
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might be expected from a sudden reaction produced by very potent causes.

Raphael's art went through several phases in the gradual progress of the "Disputa." His style expanded as he proceeded, and the figures of his foreground markedly surpass those of his distance in grandeur and majesty of shape. But the stalwart sectary who presents his back near the chair of St. Gregory, or the sage on the right who shows the altar to the man at the parapet, bear the impress of a style as severe and mature in its way as that which Michaelangelo displayed in the "Genesis" at the Sistine; and the spirit of these creations is so thoroughly in unison with that which Raphael breathed into the "School of Athens," that we think the painter must have gone at once from the first to the second, the "School of Athens" being the natural and immediate sequel of the "Disputa" on the walls of the Camera della Segnatura. But if we concede the influence of Michaelangelo, which it would seem may be granted in the foreground of the "Disputa" as well as in the "School of Athens," we do so with the conviction that it was one of the permanent elements in the expansion of Raphael's style, and not due to an unexpected change produced by a sudden acquaintance with the frescos of the Sistine Chapel.

There were sufficient reasons why Raphael's attention should have been given in immediate succession to the two great compositions which were to adorn opposite walls in the Camera della Segnatura. If the zeal of churchmen succeeded at a very early period in

obscuring the subject by maintaining that St. Paul was the principal personage in the "School of Athens," there are comparatively few in our day who will not admit that Raphael's intention was to confine that picture to ancient philosophy. The reaction which endeavoured to stem the current of Platonic and Aristotelian ideas had not as yet acquired the vigorous impulse which it subsequently attained.\* But apart from this Raphael, in the "School of Athens," did something much more important as regards art than anything that can be matter of dispute in respect of subject. The "School of Athens" is simply the finest, best balanced, and most perfect arrangement of figures that was ever put together by the genius of the Italian revival, and the scene in which the action is set is the most splendid display of monumental architecture that was ever made in the 16th century. It is not mere word-painting on Vasari's part to say that "beauty and goodness, or modesty and grace" are combined in the persons of this picture with "extraordinary minuteness of observation and subtlety of expression." He was the first, and will not be the last, to affirm that the story is distributed with an order and measure which entitle its author to claim a place as an undisputed master of pictorial composi-

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\* Consult Passavant (ii. 80); the Abbé Du Bos' *Réflexions critiques sur la poésie et la peinture*; Springer's and Grimm's *Raphael lives*; and W. Scherer's *Ueber Raphael's Schule von Athen*, 8vo, Wien, 1872. Vasari mistook the

foreground figure to the left in the "School" for St. Matthew (viii. 15). Later on Aristotle was turned into St. Paul. Now almost every figure can be traced to the pages of Sidonius Apollinaris, and Marsilio Ficini's Plato.

tion.\* Yet even here we shall observe how close the connection is which unites the "School" to the "Disputa." Both are conceived on similar principles. The ground on which the *dramatis personæ* are placed is divided into planes of varying height, and the only difference in favour of the "School" is that the supernatural element is altogether eliminated. It was no doubt of great advantage to Raphael at this juncture that he should have been able to appeal for counsel and advice to the friendship of Bramante. If we look at the "Disputa," and try to interpret what Bramante is doing in the left-hand corner of the foreground, we might assume that he is expounding the theme which Raphael paints. In the "School of Athens" we also see Bramante a prominent person in a group of mathematicians for whom he is drawing certain figures with a compass. Here the conclusion seems inevitable that Bramante was the intellectual originator of the architecture which Raphael depicts, and the more so, as Raphael himself is introduced with Perugino in attendance on Bramante. The impression which the scene of the "School of Athens" produces is that which strikes us when looking at the majestic proportions of the basilica of St. Peter. Vasari says Bramante designed the buildings which Raphael worked into perspective in the *Camera della Segnatura*.† But the great architect of Julius II. probably did more than suggest to Raphael the lines of a background. His influence, we think, was that

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\* Vas. viii. pp. 15—16.

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† Vas. vii. 134.

of a master in almost all branches of his art. A student himself of ancient monuments, of which he had copied every line and made every measurement, in the ruins of Rome, he was the natural adviser of his friend in his search for the remnants of antiquity. His sections of the human frame and the frame of the horse had been made for Raphael's use. They were afterwards collected by countless artists throughout the Italian peninsula.\* It was impossible that Raphael should not consult such a guide in his efforts to discover and master the gems and statues, the bas-reliefs and painted decorations of ancient Rome.

Looking into the picture of the "School of Athens," we see the foreground of a palace, to the floor of which the ascent is by a flight of steps. The platform thus created is bounded to the right and left by massive pilasters which bear the weight of an arched aisle, interrupted by a transept and cupola. The sky at the end of the aisle is intercepted by a marble screen with arched apertures. The vaultings are worked into hexagonal openings forming a beautiful pattern, and the floor is finely divided into framings of parti-coloured stone. Into this wide and noble space Raphael has cleverly distributed the philosophers of the pagan world, placing the chiefs in prominent places at the top of the steps, distributing the rest at the sides or on the steps and nearer foreground. Aristotle and Plato are the central figures of the picture, the first appealing to nature, the

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\* Lomazzo, *Idea del Tempio*, u. s. p. 14.



source of his own prodigious studies; the second pointing to heaven, the fount and cause of all knowledge. The disciples of both form a grand line of listeners in retreating positions down the central aisle, whilst at right angles to these, and along the platform, other followers of the school are gathered into knots, taking notes or listening to the wisdom of the sages. A great cynic lies on the steps; near him two philosophers are ascending and descending, ingeniously suggestive of the connection between Plato and Aristotle on the one hand, and Pythagoras on the other. No painter has ever produced, with the subtlety which Raphael displays, the perfect union of movement and thought which every part of the picture exhibits. The music and rhythm of the composition are not less truly conveyed in the action and occupation of each personage than they are in the table of sounds at the feet of Pythagoras. The portraits of the heroes of Greek philosophy are here and there sufficiently characterized to reveal the person whom Raphael desired to depict. We may fail to recognize the genuine types of Aristotle and Plato; but Raphael was too clever to confound their features with those of St. Peter and St. Paul; and we accept as faithful transcripts the crabbed face of Socrates and the form of Diogenes.\* Others are known

\* En peignant le Socrate de l'École d'Athènes Raphael a sans doute eu sous yeux ce camée que Castiglione fut assez heureux pour acquérir une dizaine d'années plus tard et qui contenait le buste

du philosophe. See "Raphaël archéologue" by E. Müntz, in the Gazette des Beaux Arts, Oct. and Nov. 1880, p. 7.

Plato should properly have been represented with curly locks. His

by their attributes—Pythagoras on the left, Ptolemy on the right foreground, a few others by traditional marks handed down through the ages in the rules of the guilds.

An admirable contrast is produced by the man on the left side of the picture who runs in with his books, and the man on the right who runs out empty-handed. The welcome of the first is well told in the gestures of his companions. He seems bound for the group in which Socrates holds forth to Xenophon and his friends.\* The knot of listeners round the great Athenian almost fills the space to the left of Plato, and the other side is occupied by a secretary, who writes on his knee, and is watched in his occupation by an attentive companion, a sage in thought, another in motion supporting his steps with a staff. The link which unites this part of the scene to the foreground is the grand figure of Diogenes, bare-armed and bare-legged, resting an elbow on the steps and reading his tablets. Near Diogenes, a young man in ample robes, with long hair bound by a fillet, ascends and points with both hands to the cynic, whilst a friend who meets him as he descends points eagerly to Aristotle. It is scarcely possible to conceive a more telling combination than

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face is otherwise true to the antique mask. See Scherer, *u. s.* p. 8.

\* Grimm (Leben Raphaels, p. 206) has pointed out the passage in which Lomazzo says (Trattato,

p. 627) "Senofonte fu anch' egli bellissimo . . . fu costumato gratio et esperto nell' arme." This would lead us to the inference that the soldier opposite Socrates is not Alcibiades but Xenophon.

that by which the cynic is connected with the philosophers above and below him. Beyond measure happy are the gestures and pose of the four disciples to the right of Diogenes who watch Archimedes or Euclid, under the mask of Bramante, as he stoops to his demonstrations. Equally noble are the standing Ptolemy and Zoroaster, who look at Raphael and Perugino standing near them. More complex but not less clever is the group on the left foreground, of which Pythagoras is the chief. He sits on the edge of a stool writing from the table of harmonies held before him by one of his disciples. Boethius to the left looks over the shoulder of Pythagoras, and behind them both Averrhoes bends his turbaned head. To the right of this pyramidal group, a handsome youth stands quiescent on the floor, and presents a noble face and regular features to the spectator. The philosopher at his side with his left foot raised on a block of stone, supporting a folio on his knee, has been called Xenocrates by Scherer, who also thinks that the man reading a book on the plinth to the left is Epicurus. The boy at his shoulder is considered to represent the heir of the Gonzagas, the youth between Pythagoras and Xenocrates Francesco Maria of Urbino, whilst the man on the right who stoops with outstretched arms over the form of Bramante, has been erroneously described by Vasari as Frederic II. of Mantua.\* The key stone of the composition, and the

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\* The face of this man is a | portrait by himself. (Pass. iii.,  
counterpart of that called Raphael's | No. 459), now No. 26 in the Gallery

last figure introduced by Raphael into his picture is that of the seated sage in front to the left of Diogenes who ponders as he leans his head on his wrist, and listlessly holds the pen over the page of his note-book.

The whole of the picture came finished from the hand of its creator without any of the tentative efforts which preceded and marked the progress of the "Disputa." The only noticeable after-thoughts of which there are any proofs, are the introduction of Raphael's own portrait, accompanied by that of Perugino, on the right side of the composition, and the meditative philosopher, whose occupation we have just been watching in the foreground.\* The grand cartoon of the whole subject, in the Ambrosian library at Milan, testifies to the admirable accuracy and precision of Raphael.† The three important figures omitted in that cartoon are those which suggested themselves to Raphael when transferring the lines

at Oxford. That the person represented cannot be Frederick II. of Mantua, is clear from the fact that that prince was not born till May, 1500, and did not get his title till 1519. But the heir of Mantua, afterwards Frederick II., may be the youth between Averrhoes and Epicurus, and Francesco Maria of Urbino is the prince whose form we already saw in the portrait ascribed to Raphael in the Czartoriski Collection.

\* There are two or three figures that fill gaps here and there in the distance which require no special note.

† Milan. Ambrosiana. The cartoon is much restored and patched. It is drawn in black chalk, and heightened with white. Taken to pieces and carried off in the beginning of this century, it was pasted together in Paris, and subjected to considerable repair. But many parts still preserve the marks of the original drawing, and the lines produced by the squarings. Restored in 1815 to the Ambrosiana, it still remains there a grand wreck, measuring 8 ft. 6½ in. h. by 24 ft. 6¼ in. The architecture is not in the cartoon.

to the wall. If we look at Raphael's own portrait, the trace of earlier work may be found on the plaster. The outlines are deeply engraved in the surface, and, but partially concealed by subsequent manipulations; afterwards there is evidence that Perugino's face, originally in profile, was changed to three-quarters. This and other parts reveal the technical facility which Raphael had acquired.\* The tracings of the cartoons were fastened over the fresh plaster, and deeply engraved with a steel point before the colours were applied, and the marks of this process have proved indelible.† The preparation of the cartoon was preceded by studies from the model, and nothing is more striking than the master's familiar acquaintance in drawings of this kind, with the draping and dress of the ancients. The very act of transformation

\* Raphael and Michaelangelo prepared their frescos in the same way. They pounced the cartoon on an underlining of paper, then pinned the lining to the plaster, and then cut the contour through the lining into the plaster with a metal point.

† The fresco gives the figures of the same size as the cartoon. It is 15 ft. h. by 25. The surface has been injured by abrasion and discoloration; and time has bleached and effaced the architecture, so that some of the bas-reliefs are very indistinct. A long fissure down the figure of Diogenes spoils the head of that personage. A longer and more important fissure runs down the whole picture, and cuts the

figure of the philosopher descending the steps vertically in two. This, and the neighbouring figure ascending, have been much injured in consequence.

Professor Jacobi, in a statement furnished to Professor Scherer (*Ueber Raphael's Schule von Athen*, u. s. p. 3) affirms that the head of Zoroaster is not by Raphael, and suggests that it was renewed in consequence of injury done by the heat of a chimney, behind that portion of the fresco. A careful examination shows that Professor Jacobi's opinion cannot be maintained. There is no chimney in the wall, and the head of Zoroaster has not suffered more than the rest of the fresco.

by which a Roman model is turned into a Greek philosopher may be seen in a drawing at the Albertina of Vienna, where Pythagoras, Boethius, and Xenocrates, are represented in undress. Pythagoras sits in his shirt-sleeves, Xenocrates in jerkin and drawers, keeping his station with the help of a staff. But, no sooner has Raphael drawn the model in contour and shape, than he takes the same figure and drapes it. A mantle partly clothes the limbs, the staff is dropped, the right hand points to the pages of a folio. When the figures are filed to a finish on the wall of the Camera, they assume the aspect which finally gives them grandeur and dignity.\* So, no doubt, the process was carried onwards for every section of the fresco. The splendid group of Ptolemy, and the school of Archimedes, with a special portrait of Bramante in a corner of the sheet, was put together in a silver-point drawing at Oxford,† and the philosophers who meet ascending and descending, in another silver-point of the same collection. But Archimedes and his

\* Vienna. Albertina. Pen drawing of eight figures, heightened with white on grey paper. 11 in. h. by 14½.

† Oxford. No. 70. Silver-point on pale greenish-tinted paper, 9½ in. h. by 12¾, heightened with white. This drawing comprises Bramante and the four disciples in front of him, as introduced into the fresco. In addition a fifth above the whole group, of which no further use was made, and a duplicate of the head of Bramante

in the upper corner to the left. To the right, Ptolemy, bare-headed, the neck and shoulder disfigured by a tear. There is some piecing and abrasion in the drawing. The only figure which differs from that in the fresco is that of the man in profile on the left side of the group. Of this man, a silver-point study exists, No. 685, in the Mus. of Lille, 0.163 h. by 0.118. At the side is a very vague sketch of a Virgin, Child, and Baptist.

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 companions are models; the philosophers who exchange their thoughts on the steps are draped in the noble attire of the Greeks. Yet this is not the only peculiarity of these drawings; a slight variety in that which we last described takes us into the very focus of Raphael's thoughts at the moment of completing the "School of Athens." The current which we saw transmitted from one group to the other by the philosophers meeting on the steps was not established by Raphael till the very last moment. The drawing at Oxford shows both of them pointing to the recumbent figure of Diogenes.\* After the cartoon was finished they were made to point at different objects.† It is in the subtlety with which Raphael conveys his meaning by applying to the manifestation of thought the concentrated forces of action, gesture, and expression, that we gauge the power which he had now succeeded in storing. There had been a direct appeal to Lionardo in the studies for the "Disputa." In the "School of Athens" a wider range was obtained. Pythagoras and

\* Oxford. No. 71. Silver-point, heightened with white on pale rose grey paper, 11 in. h. by 8. The head, hand, and right foot of the man ascending are separately drawn on different parts of the paper. Below to the right is the head of Medusa as it appears on the shield of Pallas in the fresco at the Venice Academy. The drapery of the ascending figure having been made more ample in the fresco, the right leg of the descending figure is less seen there than it is

in the drawing. The head of the latter too is not in the same movement in the drawing and the fresco.

A drawing in the Stædel Institute at Frankfort is accepted as the original of the figure of Diogenes. It came out of the collection of the King of Holland.

† Even in the cartoon at the Ambrosiana we trace the change in the *pentimenti* of the hands of the man ascending with his back to the spectator.

his colleagues remind us of Giotto and Ghirlandaio as much as of Da Vinci. The stooping Bramante, with the disciples, who display varieties of attention and surprise in their movement and features, vividly recall those admirable combinations which give such depth of character to the "Resurrection of St. John Evangelist" in the Peruzzi Chapel at Santa Croce of Florence. We follow the working of Giotto's example in Raphael's mind, at the same time that we trace the influence on him of Ghirlandaio's frescos in Santa Maria Novella. We note how the principles originally applied by the great founder of Florentine art, and subsequently expanded in the works of Michaelangelo's master, are taken up by Raphael to yield results at last of incomparable grandeur. With this clue in our hands we track the younger artist as he wanders into the double churches of Assisi, the chapels of Santa Croce, and the choir of Santa Maria Novella. We fancy him taking the notes which serve as ground-work for the "Massacre of the Innocents." We look as it were over his shoulder when he copies that servant in Ghirlandaio's "Nativity," whose figure and draperies are set forth in a drawing at Chatsworth. And, as we perform this act of eavesdropping, we recollect that Giotto and Ghirlandaio had also been at Rome. We remember that there Ghirlandaio certainly studied the treasures which were laid out before him, and carried home, for use in his compositions, the same bas-reliefs and classic subjects, the same infants, which Michaelangelo formed into the ceiling of the Sixtine Chapel, and Raphael framed in the



panellings and niches of the "School of Athens." Peculiarly characteristic of Raphael is the fact that Florentine elements still find their way into the framework of his art after he has taken leave of Florence as it were for ever. Fresh from the banks of the Arno, when he began the "Disputa," he still remained sufficiently Umbrian to give his style a Perugian impress. In the "School of Athens" he threw off those fetters entirely; and though Perugino stood at his elbow, he seemed to be there in readiness to protest that Raphael had not preserved a tittle of his method, though he honoured and respected the man who had helped him so far onward to the pinnacle of fame. The spirit which pervades the "School of Athens" is that of Giotto, Ghirlandaio, Lionardo, and Michaelangelo. Tempering these are Raphael's own innate nobleness and grace, and his constant appeal from the ideal and classic to nature. Combining all these qualities into his picture he exhibits as additional elements of charm, a broader style of execution, a more striking balance of light and shade, and a greater richness of harmonious colour than he had hitherto attained in his practice of fresco.\* Like the great English poet whose verse displays an original genius guided by study of the Greek and Roman classics, Raphael shows that he too had been seeking for the knowledge of the causes which Pope looked for amongst the ancients; and whilst the masterpiece

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\* The way in which the group of Plato and Aristotle is relieved | against the sky, seen through the arch in the background, is masterly.

which he produced suggested the sources from which he drew, he was able to transform them and present the matter afresh to the admiration of the world.

There is perhaps no part of the "School of Athens" in which Raphael more clearly appears to have put the antique under contribution than the statues and bas-reliefs adorning the edifice within which the philosophers hold their council. Yet these admirable examples of sculpture are all adaptations rather than copies of older forms. It has justly been thought that the Apollo who carries a lyre in a niche on the left side of the "School of Athens" was taken from a Medicean gem which represents the god victorious against Marsyas. This treasure of classic art was considered priceless in the 16th century, and has never been forgotten since its first discovery. The Medici had it, and to this day it adorns the Museum of Naples. Raphael undoubtedly studied it, but it merely served as a type to which he gave new life by consulting the human model. He was in this but the forerunner of Michaelangelo who went through the same process a few years later in the splendid statue of the "Captive" at the Louvre.\*

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\* The gem at Naples has been photographed. An engraving of it is in E. Müntz's "Culture de la Renaissance;" another in "Gems from the Antique," London, 1804. Marcantonio engraved the Apollo from Raphael's fresco in one of his finest plates. (But see also Grimm's *Raphael*, u. s. p. 286.)

- There is a drawing, No. 74, at

Oxford, pen outline washed with bistre, 5½ in. h. by 9, which has been supposed to be an original sketch for the background, including the Apollo, of the School of Athens. But the drawing is not genuine. Another drawing, in which we might trace some connexion with the studies for the Apollo, is No. 715, at Lille, a bold

For Minerva, in the opposite niche, who stands cap-à-pie with her lance and winged helmet, and the shield on which the head of Medusa is embossed, we have no prototype. It is a noble imitation of classic statuary. But the study at Oxford which Raphael made for it together with that for each of the marble figures in the niches of the aisle, is drawn from life with the silver point and only washed with grey and heightened with white, to look like the carving of a sculpture.\*

Medusa was familiar to Raphael from his earliest school-days. He copied an example of it in the Sketch-book of Venice.†

Under the statues Raphael has set a double row of bas-reliefs, one of which, on the side of Minerva, represents a female seated with a book on her lap, wielding a sceptre, whilst two pretty children carry a tablet on the clouds at her side. The curves of the world and the figures of the Zodiac on one hand, the

pen-sketch of a naked man, with something not unlike a lyre in his hand, and next him a draped saint or philosopher holding a book. There are other figures in the same spirit on the back of the sheet (714) which is attributed to Raphael. But the genuineness of this piece is not above suspicion. It is executed with a freedom which is not everywhere like the freedom which Raphael allowed himself. One side (714) 0·29 h. by 0·21, the other (715) 0·27 by 0·20.

\* Oxford. No. 72. Silver-point, 10½ in. h. by 7½. Raphael here

has drawn the left shoulder of Pallas bare. In the fresco it is draped, and there are also changes in the skirts. The three profiles of niches are those on the right side of the aisle in the fresco. A slight sketch at the foot of the drawing seems to have been meant for the head of the philosopher descending the steps.

† Venice Academy. Frame XXIV. No. 6. Pen sketch. The Medusa, seen at ¾ to the left, instead of ¾ to the right as in the Vatican.

children and books on the other connect the picture with the "Philosophy" in the ceiling; and the perfect coincidence of thought in the two compositions is pleasantly illustrated in Marcantonio's print of the bas-relief in which the words "Chauxarum cognitio" are inscribed. The variety which distinguishes the drawing of Marcantonio from that of Raphael is displayed at the same time in the original draft for the copper plate preserved under Raphael's name in the collection of the Uffizi.\*

But Apollo symbolizes moral philosophy so far as it conduces to the taming of the passions. Raphael has represented these passions untamed in the bas-reliefs beneath the statue of the god. Here a fight, there a single combat between a nymph and a Triton. The fight, whether we take it draped in the fresco or nude in a drawing at Oxford, is so much in the spirit of Da Vinci's background to the "Adoration of the Magi," or the foreground of the "Battle of Anghiari" that we discover at once where Raphael's thoughts were straying when he composed the picture, but the bold foreshortening, the powerful stroke and an energetic display of muscular strength reveal the close proximity of the giant Michaelangelo.† And yet Raphael meets

\* Uffizi. No. 514. Pen drawing, with the group similar to the fresco, and above it a study of drapery, and a female holding the books of the two philosophers. The close, formal and sharp hatching of this drawing is that of Marcantonio as distinguished from Raphael. The female with the two

books is a copy from the round of the Philosophy in the ceiling of the Camera della Segnatura, 11½ in. h. by 7½.

† Oxford. No. 73. Red chalk drawing 15 in. h. by 11. The figure on the right, the second described in the text, recalls the executioner in the Judgment of Solomon. But this,

us in all his might in the youth who raises his staff with both hands to strike at his prostrate foe. Raphael here defines the shape of the man who shields himself from attack with one arm, whilst he prepares for a blow with the other; his impulse is in the motion of the slinking coward who glides from the fray. In the monster of the lower bas-relief who grasps at the form of the girl, writhing and resisting, we have a new version of a subject which Ghirlandaio once introduced into his fresco of the "Angel and Zachariah" in Santa Maria Novella at Florence.

But these illustrations are not confined to any one portion of the fresco. They are impartially lavished in the distance and the foreground. The statues of Apollo and Pallas have their counterparts in niches in the transept, and the upper curves of the dome which Raphael designed from the noble plan of Bramante are adorned with medallions in which a

as indeed the other figures of the drawing, reveal a greater ease of hand, more knowledge of the detail of muscles in action than earlier sketches.

The bas-relief in the fresco has one figure more than the drawing—the recumbent one on the left foreground.

Of other drawings assigned to Raphael, it is only necessary to mention :—

1. Pen and ink sketch of the whole fresco at Windsor. 2. Sketch of the philosopher leaning on a pillar, and looking at the man

who writes on his knees; a drawing at Windsor washed with Indian ink and heightened with white. 3. A reed pen drawing, washed with Indian ink and heightened with white, of the group of six at the side of Aristotle—also at Windsor. 4. A chalk drawing at Windsor of the man running in with books with two companions, and the group below of Epicurus and his comrades about the plinth of a pillar. The first is assigned to Parmegianino, the rest to Raphael; but none of them have the true stamp of originality.

man is depicted looking up from his book to the heavens as if he were echoing some words of Plato, and a woman rests her arm on a terrestrial globe as if to enforce the doctrines of Aristotle.

With what unwearying industry Raphael laboured at this time to increase his familiarity with old examples of Greek sculpture is apparent in numerous drawings, but in none more so than in the rapid designs which remind us of the period of the "School of Athens," in the collections of the British Museum and of Oxford. In a broad pen sketch at the British Museum we see naked men carrying burdens off a battle field, captives, one might think removing trophies at the bidding of a warder who gives orders on the other side of the sheet. A quick stroke and great certainty of hand, perfect knowledge of muscular action and proportion, recall the sketch for the bas-relief of the fight.\* But the master's fondness for the classic is perhaps less conspicuous in this than in a contemporary sheet at Oxford, where a nymph carrying a vase appears to wait till another nymph has relieved a male companion of a similar load. It seems impossible to doubt that Raphael was copying models when he made this sketch, and yet the result

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\* British Museum. Pen and ink. 10½ in. h. by 6½. From the Payne Knight Coll. A man striding, in profile, to the right carrying a shield or the like; another to the right, in front of the first, bent nearly double as he strides by the body of one that has fallen. The

drawing is patched and spotted, but still very fine. On the other side of the sheet a naked man striding with outstretched right arm to the right, and looking round to the left. A formless hand in distemper colours disfigures the right side of the paper.

is something pure and ideal as a piece of carved work of the best Athenian time.\*

“In Plato’s *Ion*, the poets are seen wandering like bees from flower to flower and gathering honey from the gardens and valleys of the Muses. Marsilio Ficini dilating on this theme, tells of Apollo, and Homer the father of epic verse, receiving the poetic inspiration from heaven. The current which descends from Olympus runs onward from Apollo to the Muses, and through them to the heroes of poetry and song. Calliope inspires Orpheus, and each of her companions in turn imparts it to Homer, Pindar, Sappho, Thamyras, Hesiod, Virgil and Ovid.” If Raphael composed his “*Parnassus*” without clinging to the words of Marsilius his mind was certainly filled with the Platonic idea of poetic inspiration, and Apollo’s glance or Homer’s upturned face is as clearly meant to express the thought as the finger of Plato in the “*School of Athens*,” or the revelation of the Trinity in the “*Disputa*” was meant to suggest the divine origin of things.† It may be true, as some have thought, that Raphael’s acquaintance with earlier examples prepared him for the conception of the “*Parnassus*,” yet no contemporary painting except Timoteo Viti’s “*Pallas*,” and “*Apollo with the Muses*,” is known to have been within his reach, and of these the separate figures filled a series of niches in the Palace of Urbino.‡ It was

\* Oxford. No. 81. Pen and ink, 11½ in. h. by 8.

† See some of these thoughts ably expressed in Professor W.

Scherer’s essay on Raphael’s *School of Athens*.

‡ Baldi. *Descr. del Pal. Ducale*, u. s. p. 57.

Raphael who first gave cohesion and life to the subject, and brought the legend of Greek Mythology into action, and this is all the more surprising because in carrying out his purpose, he met with material and intellectual difficulties which might have baffled any other artist. On the walls on which he had painted the "Disputa" and the "School of Athens," he had had the advantage of an equable and regular light; the "Parnassus" was painted on a dark wall, pierced with a large window leaving an arched space above it and perpendicular surfaces at its sides to be filled up. The boldness with which Raphael covered this fan-like ground, and even made some of his figures project from the framing of the window, is marvellous. Divergent opinions have been held as to whether the earliest form of the "Parnassus" is that which Raphael left in the Camera della Segnatura or that of Marcantonio which Vasari mistook, in his description, for the original.\* Marcantonio's print is square, composed of few but scantily draped figures, and enlivened by pretty winged genii carrying laurel crowns. The fresco is arched and the sky is unadorned by genii, but the foreground is filled by two noble representations of Sappho and Pindar, which are not in the print. The print shows Apollo with the lyre, the fresco presents him with the viol. The *dramatis personæ* in the first are closer but less noble imitations of the antique than those in the second. The print conveys no suggestion of the divine inspiration which pervades the fresco.

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\* Vasari, viii. 17, 18.



We shall therefore agree with Richardson and Springer, rather than with Passavant and Grimm in thinking that Marcantonio's celebrated plate cannot claim, because of the varieties which distinguish it, to be the forerunner of the fresco, but must be considered on various grounds as the work of one of Raphael's disciples who was familiar with his master's later productions, and had access to his original studies.

It is curious to observe that a drawing at Oxford, which seems obviously based on an early arrangement of the "Parnassus," does not reveal the true style of Raphael, though some of the figures which it contains are found in the print and not in the fresco. It is equally curious to note that the special studies for both are in Raphael's hand. We shall have occasion to note as we proceed, how Raphael gradually fell into the way of confiding not only the manual labour of fresco painting, but the working out of sketches to his assistants, and so initiated his pupils to the same sort of work as he had himself done for Pinturicchio at Sienna. Out of the twenty-eight persons which the "Parnassus" contains, fifteen are combined as nudes in the Oxford drawing. Thirteen of them form the groups on the summit of Parnassus, and Apollo is seated in the foreground, attended by the Muses; but, of the three poets, Dante, Homer, and Virgil, who stand on the left side of the composition, Homer alone is complete as he appears in the fresco, and Virgil and Dante are models without the characteristics by which they were subsequently distinguished. One figure fills

the space at each side of the window, the first being the poet on the left who leans against a tree in front of Sappho, the second a man pointing with both hands to Apollo on the right side of the foreground in Marcantonio's print.\* For the latter there is a splendid study in the British Museum, and on the back of the sheet a study equally finished of a poet not comprised in the Oxford sketch, or the prints, though prominent in the right-hand foreground of the fresco.†

We gather from this rare concatenation of circumstances that Raphael's first thought was to fill the side spaces near the window of the Camera with single figures;—that he subsequently increased the number to two, and that he at last produced the arrangement which gave him the composite groups that were finally realized in the fresco. The picture as it appears to us in its finished state is not less admirable for distribu-

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\* Oxford. No. 68. Pen drawing, 12 in. h. by 18½. The composition is evidently Raphael's. But the working out, so far as can be judged from a partially renovated surface, was that of a subordinate who followed his master's method very closely, and probably had a rough sketch to work from. This drawing is perhaps that which is noted in the catalogue of the Praun Coll. at Nuremberg, 8vo, 1797, p. 48.

† British Museum. Pen drawing of a man with bare arms and legs, his frame turned to the left, and both hands pointing in that direction, whilst the head looks to the right. A mantle falls from

the right shoulder to the ground. To the right a separate study of drapery, 13½ in. h. by 9. From the Payne Knight Coll.

At the back of the sheet is a study for the drapery of a man, with arms outstretched on the extreme right of the fresco. On the sides of the paper are the two hands, separately drawn, as well as the hand of the poet, third to the right from Urania.

The feet of this figure, together with the foot of the so-called Ovid next him, are admirably detailed in a drawing, No. 713, at Lille (pen and ink, 0·30 h. by 0·21). All these drawings are in the same bold and clever style.

tion and execution than the "School of Athens." It is striking alike for the simplicity of its parts, the wonderful serenity of most of the actors, and the depth of feeling concentrated in Apollo and Homer. But its extraordinary charm is also due to the surprising skill with which light and colour are distributed over the surface. Apollo sits at the foot of a laurel grove near the spring of Castalia. His soul seems rapt in the sounds of the music which streams from his viol. He looks inspired to heaven from whence Jove has sent him the poet's crown. A drapery, slight but graceful, covers his arm and hips. Erato, seated with the seven-stringed lyre on her lap, gazes at him passionately. Calliope, recumbent on his right, fixes her vacant glance on space, and rests her hand on the tube of a horn. Behind her, Melpomene hides the tragic mask, whilst Terpsichore and Polyhymnia cling to each other in graceful fondness. The trees behind Apollo part these muses from the companions of Erato. Clio, turns her profile to the god, her movement is followed by Thalia, who raises the mask in her hand, whilst Euterpe speaks to Urania, a splendid full-draped woman standing with her back to the scene on the verge of Parnassus, from whence she looks down on the laurel-crowned poets on the brow of the hill to the right.

In front of the grove to the left, Homer chaunts to the music of Apollo. He, too, is filled with the poetic fire, and raises his sightless eyeballs to Heaven. His outstretched hand seems moving with the timidity of blindness to the rhythm of the harmonies that sound in

his ears. His song is heard with grave attention by Dante and Virgil. A youth on a rustic seat is preparing to write the words that fall from his mouth. Sappho rests at the base of the hill beneath the feet of Homer, and looks at a group of bards and poetesses, amongst whom we detect the form of Petrarch. She casts a shadow on the window-frame against which she is leaning, a counterpart, as it were, to the bold shape of Pindar, on the opposite side, who sits on the verge of the foreground beyond which his knees and hand are projected. Nothing more grand than the repose, except perhaps the eagerness with which this energetic individual imparts his thoughts to his companion in whom surprise is so highly wrought that we fancy we hear the tones, which his neighbour chides. In rear of these, the band of poets is gathered, whom Urania overlooks. They are contemporaries, it is clear, of Raphael's age. Vasari mentions Tebaldeo, Boccaccio Ariosto, and Sannazaro.\* But of all these names, we can hardly vouch for more than Ariosto, whose features were handed down to us in acknowledged likenesses, or Boccaccio, whose face is of a known traditional type. Sannazaro is not unlike a portrait which bears his name assigned to Raphael in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg. But criticism is necessarily baffled by a surface altered by retouching, and distinct varieties

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\* Tebaldeo is supposed to be the poet on the extreme left of the group at the foot of the laurels near Urania; Boccaccio is next him to the right; Ariosto is just

behind the poet who puts his finger to his mouth, by Passavant called Ovid; next him to the right is Sannazaro.

may be noted between the features in the panel and those of engraved plates in Jove's Eulogies, and modern biographies.\* Like all great masters, Raphael was perfectly aware of the necessity for generalizing in a monumental picture, and when we turn to his version of Homer, Virgil, and Dante, we soon discern how cleverly he confined himself to the broader characteristics required to suggest the individuality of the person represented. Years have passed since Raphael stood with his pen and inkhorn before the poets and sages of the palace of Urbino. We saw him pause before the pictures of Justus, and try his powers of imitation on the faces of Homer and Virgil. We followed him as he drew the blind eyes

\* Hermitage. No. 40. Wood transferred to canvas. 0·60 h. by 0·49. From the collection of Hector de Garriod and William II. of Holland, and supposed to be the same picture that belonged to the collector Magnavacca, of Bologna, in 1707 (Pass. ii. 364). The poet, if he be Sannazaro, is here about 60 years of age; turned to the left; shaven face, long flowing white hair under a black felt cap, brown olive vest—on a dark olive ground. The features are like those of the poet in the fresco of "Parnassus," who looks younger. On the back of the picture are the words: LORENZO DI GIORDANO DI MICHELE DI GIORDANO DI FANO ALIAS DI FANELLO DI LVCCA.

The face altered by retouching and cleaning is not unlike that of Sannazaro, as given in a portrait engraved in Paul Jove's *Elogia*

*Virorum*. Basil. 1575, p. 149. It is unlike that of a portrait engraved from a picture, of which the trace has been lost, in "Vita di Giacomo Sannazaro . . . Napoli, 1817." This picture was in the Lanzellotti Collection at Naples, and was assigned there to Raphael. (Pass. ii. p. 364.) As Sannazaro was born in 1458, and the portrait in the "Parnassus" represents a man of 50, there is no difficulty on the score of age in supposing that Raphael meant to represent him there. But the face in the fresco is more bony and fat than it is in the older one of the Hermitage picture. Passavant (ii. p. 364) mentions a bust of Sannazaro on his tomb in Santa Maria in Porto (not seen by the authors), but he says the face is like that in the Lanzellotti picture.

and the hands stretched forth in guarded motion. We see him now, breathing new life into the same forms. The blind eyes are open and directed heaven-wards, one hand is thrown forward, whilst the other clutches the folds of the mantle. The head too is moulded on that of Jove, whilst each feature separately reminds us of the agonized face of the Laocoon, from which the anguish has been taken by a direct appeal to nature.\* Equally fine are the Virgil and the Dante, though both are duly subordinate to their inspired chief; and Dante presents the mask, the dress and colours preserved by Giotto and his followers, and described in the Centiloquio of Pucci.† The bye-play is admirable in the group. Virgil, at Homer's side, calls Dante's attention to the music of the god; Dante carries the volume of the Divine Comedy, in which he acknowledged the mastership of Virgil. The graceful clinging of Terpsichore and Polyhymnia recalls the youths who listen to the music of the daughter of Herodias in Giotto's fresco at Santa Croce of Florence. But a source of endless pleasure is opened to us in the whole fashioning of the picture, when we look at the radiance that falls on the brow and frame of Apollo, the snow-white draperies of

\* Mr. Gruyer has been the first to note the likeness of Homer to the Laocoon. See his "Raphael et l'antiquité," quoted in Müntz's Raphael.

† Come per Poeta fu vestito  
Colla corona in testa dell' alloro,  
Ein sul petto un libro ben fornito.

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Questo che veste di color sanguigno."

Pucci (Antonio), reprint of Alessandro d'Ancona, per nozze Bonghi Ranalli, 1868, Pisa, pp. 2 and 16.

Calliope, and the bright scale of Erato's tunic. The sky is clear behind Apollo, and brings into fine relief the laurel trees that are thrown against it. A beautiful fading of brilliancy is seen in proportion as the light radiates to the figures on every side. A transparent gloom covers the Sappho, and Pindar, and their companions, picked out here and there by clever flecks of sunshine. In every part the master shows that he has looked at and made his own every detail of antique dress and forms; and turning from the picture to the studies which were made for several of its parts, we note without difficulty the classic faces which Raphael saw and probably copied before the spirit that dwelt in them was transferred into the picture. The noble heads of Homer, Dante, and Virgil, on one sheet at Windsor, are marvels of design unsurpassed by anything that Raphael ever drew. The splendid head of the first, with its grand volume of bone, shows a spacious forehead, with admirable modelling of the brow, and regular nose and mouth, age indicated by wrinkles, and crisp rounded ringlets. But everything is sculptural in the parts, whilst the hum of the voice seems to come audibly from the lips. Virgil is perhaps less noble and more reminiscent of the model. But Dante is full of a portentous earnestness.\* Equal grandeur

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\* Windsor. Pen drawing of the three heads of Homer, Virgil, and Dante.  $10\frac{1}{2}$  in. h. by 7. This is a splendid set of studies: Homer, quite in the antique spirit, Virgil less idealized and more like a model, and somewhat different in the cut

of the features and the lie of the face from the head in the fresco. It also occurred to Raphael to paint him without beard and moustaches, both of which are well indicated in the drawing. Dante is aged, but of the well-known type

distinguishes the pen drawing for the whole figure in the Albertina, and Homer's hands and draperies are cleverly lined in a pen drawing at Lille.\* Apollo is also taken from the nude in a page at Lille, and the five-stringed viol which Raphael probably thought more appropriate for the god on Parnassus than the lyre which is the symbol of his victory over Marsyas, is made out in detail at the side of the sheet. But the double chord which is played in the sketch becomes a single note in the fresco.† Apollo had been seen in every variety of classic movement by Raphael, except that suggested by the Platonic legend. He therefore created the ideal of the god on Parnassus. But some of the muses were suggested to him by conspicuous examples in the collections of the Vatican; and if we sometimes fail to detect where the spring of his inspiration lay, it is only because the statues which he studied are now beyond our ken. Melpomene, in the "Parnassus," combines modern seductiveness and fulness of shape

which we find in varied forms in the Chapel of the Podestà at Florence, and in Michelino's picture in the Cathedral of Florence. On the back of the sheet is a study of drapery for the figure of Dante.

\* Vienna. Albertina. Dante. Pen drawing similar to the fresco.  $12\frac{7}{16}$  in. h. by  $5\frac{1}{4}$ . Lille. No. 712. Pen sketch of hands and drapery.  $0\cdot335$  h. by  $0\cdot246$ . It is on the back of this sheet that we find the studies for the feet of Ovid and another poet, see Lille, No. 713.

† Lille. No. 728. Drawing in

pen and bistre from the model.  $0\cdot319$  h. by  $0\cdot225$ . The figure is all but naked, with the exception of a cloth about the loins. The torso and head slightly vary from those in the fresco, but the legs are the same. It has been said (Pass. ii. 77) that Raphael meant to depict the violin player San Secondo; but this is a mere conjecture. The instrument represented in the sketch has five strings, one of which is played with the thumb.

On the back of the sheet is a study of drapery.



with antique dress. But the drawing at Oxford, from which her form was fashioned, betrays Raphael's direct appeal to an ancient marble, of which he preserved the arms and legs and the drapery, whilst he altered the movement of the head. The breeze which plays with the folds of her vestments is but a flaw that leaves her neighbour's tunic untouched. The drapery of Virgil on the back of the sheet sufficiently indicates that the study was meant for the "Parnassus," and Marcantonio's print confirms the indication.\* Erato, at the Albertina, with her head thrown back, suggests reflections of a similar kind. The drapery round her limbs is plastic in fold, yet the attitude is not to be found in any statue with which we are now acquainted, whilst the bodice and vest distinctly point to the model of a Roman *contadina*.† It was not till the fresco was painted that the seven-stringed lyre was introduced to give the muse her distinctive character.

The apotheosis of Homer, a bas-relief at the Vatican, of which there is a replica in the British Museum, may have yielded the figure of Calliope with the horn; and Raphael has cleverly modified the action of

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\* Oxford. No. 69. Pen drawing in bistre. 13 in. by 8 $\frac{7}{8}$ . In this drawing Melpomene seems hardly to touch the earth. She looks round to the left, whereas in the fresco her head is turned in the opposite direction. This and the drapery on the back of the paper are thrown off with a sure and

skilful hand.

A copy of the Melpomene is in the Uffizi at Florence.

† Vienna. Albertina. Pen sketch. 9 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. h. by 8 $\frac{1}{8}$ . This fine drawing is in the same style as the foregoing. The upper right-hand corner of the sheet is a patch of modern paper.

the left arm and the turn of the head.\* In a drawing at the Albertina, the shape of the hips and the lie of the legs, with the twist of the drapery round them, are adapted with considerable skill from the Ariadne of the Vatican, whose charms were celebrated in a sonnet by Castiglione, under the name of Cleopatra, and whose form was reproduced in a celebrated print by Marcantonio.† None but the genius of Raphael could have given the stamp of originality to a creation derived from such varied sources, or tempered it to the taste of the moderns by studying nature.‡

A marvellously finished vellum at the British Museum, which hardly displays Raphael's own hand, shows us the whole group of Sappho and attendant poets.§ Her shape may have been taken from the bas-relief at the Vatican which produced the Calliope.

\* Vatican. Apotheosis of Homer. Engraving in Santi Bartoli's *Admiranda*, No. 81. Triangular fragment in four courses, with two figures of females in profile facing each other in the third upper course. The replica or nearly so at the Brit. Mus., No. 159, from the Colonna Palace at Rome.

† See Castiglione's *Carmina Veneta*, 1558, p. 31; and Marcantonio's prints. The Ariadne, found in the reign of Julius II., is No. 418 in the Gallery of Statues at the Vatican. A fine bronze cast of it at the Louvre. The derivation of Raphael's Calliope from the Ariadne had already been noticed by Mr. Müntz. See his

Raphael *Archéologue*, *u. s.* p. 7.

‡ Vienna. Albertina. Pen sketch. 9½ in. h. by 8½. On the back of the sheet is Urania, also for the "Parnassus," presenting her back to the spectator.

§ British Mus. Silver-point on prepared vellum, from the Payne Knight Collection. 0·28 h. by 0·18. This drawing is too finished and delicate in the modulations of the shading not to be a copy from the fresco. In the upper part of the sheet are the Dante and part of the Homer.

The head of Clio, once in the collection of King William of Holland, subsequently in possession of Mr. Colnaghi in London, is described by Passavant, ii. p. 78.

But how finely did Raphael adapt the recumbent form to the bend of the ground! How beautifully he realized, and with what supreme grace completed, the head, the frame and limbs, and the arms supporting the scroll and lyre!

More difficult, because of its place and the peculiar conformation of the space in which it is disposed, than other pictures in the Camera della Segnatura, the "Parnassus" seems to have cost less labour than the "Disputa," and required less effort than the "School of Athens." It displays but little of the feeling which distinguishes the first, or of the grandeur which characterizes the second. But it is perhaps more pleasing than either. It reveals some disproportions, particularly in the stature of certain figures. But the masterly breadth of its composition and the practised handling which give it charm mark the period of Raphael's greatest power. In rapidity of execution it is probably second only to the allegory of "Prudence" which faces it, and nothing as yet indicates the coming of the time in which the master, unable to give the whole of his labour to the work he accepted confided it in part to his disciples.\*

With the "Parnassus" Raphael took leave of historical painting to wander into the realms of fancy. But in the fourth subject which he thought out for the Camera della Segnatura he judiciously combined symbolism with the requirements of pictorial distribution.

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\* The "Parnassus" has suffered more than the "Disputa." It has been injured by retouching, espe-

cially in the sky, which in consequence has lost its freshness.

Prudence on a plinth, commands from a vantage ground the cognate virtues of Force and Moderation. The stone on which she rests is of pure marble. The platform on which her feet repose is the seat of her companions. Raphael in this composition works out a problem which had tried the powers of Giotto and Lorenzetti. The art which those masters created was carried into later ages by northern Italians, who made direct appeals to the spirit of the antique. Raphael clothed that art in a new dress, uniting grace and elegance to the severest grandeur. In this effort he remains unsurpassed. And the virtues of the Camera della Segnatura are unapproached for power, grace of line, and transparent lightness of colour. Though forced again to temper his palette to the gloom of a window front, and damp his pigments to a clear key of tone, he produced a picture as gay and masterly and as freely handled as Del Sarto's "Nativity" in the Santissima Annunziata at Florence. But whilst in the "Parnassus" his subject filled the wall on which it was thrown, he only covered the arch section above the window with the allegory of the virtues. Prudence sits in a sidelong attitude on her throne, with her head inclined to the left; she looks into a mirror which she steadies with her hand whilst a winged boy of admirable shape holds it up to her gaze. Supporting herself on the left arm, which rests on the plinth, her left leg drawn back and her right thrown forward, she appears majestic in outline and in movement. The mantle which falls from one shoulder is wrapped round the legs so as to display the sandalled feet. The

downward profile which the mirror reflects contrasts with the bearded mask which looks upward on the other side. The transition of one to the other is agreeably tempered by a cloth which unites though it parts them both. A wingless boy at the foot of the plinth raises a flaming torch, whilst close to him Moderation holds aloft the bridle of the passions, turning the while to look at a beautiful naked child, whose lovely features are seen front wise. His outstretched hand and the finger pointing to heaven repeat the moral which everywhere meets us in this chamber of the Vatican. Without succour from heaven, it seems to say, prudence and the kindred virtues are unavailing. The broad mantle which covers the limbs of Moderation falls over one of her arms and admirably drapes her limbs. The sweep of the lines partially covers the graceful affectation of the action. Grandeur, nobler, and of fuller shape, Fortitude sits in profile to the left with the helmet on her head and the ægis on her breast. Her form is wrapped in an ample cloth, which leaves uncovered a leg encased in steel. The left hand caresses a lion's head. An oak branch on her right delicately recalls the motto and watchword of the Rovere. Its fresh leaves are interspersed with acorns, and a playful genius climbs on the lap of Fortitude to pluck the fruit. But emblems do not alone indicate power, the frame and face alike convey the notion of strength and self-reliance, and a boy on the platform to the left, with his back to the scene, signs to some unseen being beyond the picture that here lies the embodiment of

government and rule. The ideal of the Greeks and the supernatural energy of Buonarrotti are nobly combined in a figure which contrasts with the Umbro-Florentine impersonation of Moderation. We ask ourselves whether it was chance that produced the contrast; and no doubt it seemed appropriate to pit the colossal proportions of the one against the slender shape of the other, making Prudence a mean between both. It can scarcely be denied that the "Prudence" is more serene, more simple and measured in its parts, than either of the companion virtues. But all are remarkable for grandeur of shape and monumental drapery. Foreshortenings are indicated with a masterly power as much in respect of the drawing as in view of the place from which the figures are seen. A fine relief is obtained by the coloured surfaces, and the faintly clouded sky behind them. The feeling which pervades this all but faultless picture is purely Raphaelesque. The tender scale of the colours is in unison with the kindliness of the sentiment displayed. There is a brightness and a gaiety which distinctly foreshadow the bold and surprising "Sibyls" of Santa Maria della Pace, in which the genius of Raphael seems to knead into one all the art of the Greeks, of Michaelangelo, and himself. We shall see how Vasari explained the creation of the "Isaiah," but before the "Isaiah" there came the "Fortitude" of the Camera della Segnatura, and looking at that splendid manifestation we might admit that now, if not for the first time, Raphael had stolen into the Sixtine Chapel and

looked at the "Sibyls" of Michaelangelo which were the greatest contribution of a gifted master to the art of the 16th century. But when Raphael came down from those scaffoldings, and if he then worked off the impressions which he got there, he clothed the Michaelangelesque in his own garb and adorned it with a fresh grace.

The grand combination of elegance and energy which the allegory of "Prudence" presents might fitly have closed the labours of the Camera della Segnatura. But it would have been contrary to Raphael's habit to neglect the slightest detail of such an imposing decoration. He therefore gave interest to subordinate pictures of "Justinian issuing the Pandects" and "Gregory IX. delivering the Decretals" by insisting chiefly on portrait character. He completed the effort by filling the spaces beneath the "Parnassus" with imitations of bas-reliefs representing Cæsar rescuing Virgil's *Æneid* from the fire, and Alexander the Great depositing the poems of Homer in the tomb of Achilles; and he covered the sides of the window niches with ornaments winding about tablets containing appropriate classic compositions. The scheme of the decoration was subsequently completed by a series of panellings in tarsia which were executed by Fra Giovanni da Verona. It is a pity that, in the course of ages, the colour of the first should have been corroded and injured, that the bas-reliefs and tablets should have been partially obliterated, and the tarsias of the Veronese friar should have been replaced by monochromes alternately assigned to Perino

del Vaga and Polidoro.\* We must imagine, since we cannot realize, the beauty of the arrangement. But if we cannot see the whole, we still wonder at the versatility of the great artist who created its parts; and we sincerely admire the talent with which he suggested the growth of papal power, by representing Gregory IX. under the garb and features of Julius II. and the court of Gregory under the figures of prelates of his own time.

When Sixtus IV. completed the Vatican library and appointed Platina the custodian of its books, he chose Melozzo to celebrate the event in a picture which we still have the privilege of admiring. Melozzo represented the Pope enthroned and Platina kneeling before him, whilst the Cardinals Pietro Riario and Giuliano della Rovere gravely attend. No wonder that Julius II. should have remembered this incident when he asked Raphael to paint that of the Decretals. It was his turn to sit. But he substituted his own person for that of Gregory IX., and the prelates of his suite were his own secretaries Cardinal de' Monti, Giovanni de' Medici, and Alexander Farnese. Was it not natural that Medici and Farnese should think that they too might some day be pontiffs in their turn? Raphael, who probably had seen Melozzo's fresco, was not inclined to do more than accept the composition as one into

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\* If any one should be curious to know the subjects of the subordinate parts of the decorations of the Camera della Segnatura, he

can look at Vasari, viii. p. 20, and x. pp. 166-7; and Passavant, ii. pp. 91 and 92.



which he could work a number of new parts. The memories which filled his mind were not confined to Rome, they included the masterpieces of Masaccio in the Brancacci Chapel, or those of Ghirlandaio at Santa Maria Novella of Florence. The clerk who takes the Decretals, kneels to the right at the Pope's footstool. Julius, in state, sits bearded on the papal chair. His cloak is held on one side by a cardinal whose suite of prelates fills the background behind him. The same office is performed to the left by Giovanni de' Medici supported by the Cardinals Farnese and Antonio de' Monti. For the first time since he began to wield the brush, Raphael produces one of those portrait groups of which he left an imperishable example later in the "Leo" of the Pitti. The broad system of generalization which marks individual figures in the "Disputa" and the "School of Athens" is abandoned. The *dramatis personæ* are living individuals whose distinctive features and peculiarities are taken from nature. The ceremony is one which Raphael himself might have witnessed, and nothing prevents us from fancying that Cardinal de' Monti, and the future Popes, Leo X. and Paul III., sat to the youthful artist, watched him as he plied his busy pencil, and gave him promise of future patronage. The figures in Raphael's fresco are distributed with skill, and the light is managed with such perfect art that it centres on the Pope and fades as it passes to the churchmen of his suite, yet everywhere the transitions are tempered by passages of half tone cleverly relieved by broad con-

trasts of light and shade. To a faithful and dignified imitation of nature appropriate detail is added without excluding transparency and air.\*

The variety which distinguishes Julius publishing the Decretals, from Justinian issuing the Pandects is manifested in the substitution of antique for modern dress, and a certain clinging to the sculptural laws of bas-relief. Justinian is in profile with a kneeling official in front of him; and courtiers are grouped in a semicircle round the Emperor and his minister. But the Pope, as well as Raphael, had less interest for this than for the companion subject; and we mark the result in the comparative dryness and strain of the figures. Justinian seems copied from a marble; and the hardness which he displays is scarcely counter-balanced by natural movement in the kneeling minister and the attendant courtiers.†

The monochromes in the form of reliefs which = cover the lower sides of the walls beneath the "Parnassus" are designed in a style worthy of Raphael. To the left, Alexander orders one of his attendants to lay the pages of Homer in the tomb of Achilles.

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\* Rome. Camera della Segnatura. We should note as particularly injured, in this fresco, the lower part of the faces of the Pope and Giovanni de' Medici and part of the Pope's hand.

A drawing of the kneeling clerk and four attendants in the Stædel Collection at Frankfort has been assigned to Raphael; but it looks more like the work of one of his

disciples. It belonged to the Verstolk Collection at the Hague.

† This fresco has suffered more than the one next it. The colours are in some places obliterated, in others injured. A sketch of the picture, which once belonged to Sir Thomas Lawrence, is now in the Stædel Collection at Frankfort. But the originality of this piece is perhaps open to question.

The king's suite is composed of twelve persons judiciously ranged at each side of a tomb into which some of them are looking. To the right, Augustus, in the festive dress of an emperor, orders the executors of Virgil not to burn the *Æneid*; one of them holds the manuscript, which he threatens to burn in a brazier before him. The Cæsar stops him with a gesture, and his courtiers applaud. Yet the beauty of the design is not equalled by the skill of the person who transferred it to the wall, and we trace a curious resemblance between the handling of these frescos and that of the *Caryatidæ* in the *Stanza dell'Elidoro* which are obviously by Perino del Vaga.

The rest of the decoration was, no doubt, in its time worthy of the name of Raphael. In its present state it will hardly repay any lengthened examination.

We can picture to ourselves Raphael's joy when he wrote on the architrave beneath the "*Parnassus*" that his work was concluded in 1511, the eighth year of Julius II.'s Pontificate.\* He spent, at the very utmost, two years and a half on the task. Labours of such excellence and extent had never been equalled in point of time by any one except Michaelangelo, who took four years and a half to finish the ceiling of the Sixtine Chapel. But these were days when the struggles of artists for pre-eminence were those of giants. Compared with Raphael and Michaelangelo, the painters who follow are but a generation of pigmies.

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\* Julius II. Pont. Max. Ann. Chri. MDXI., Pontificatus sui VIII.

## CHAPTER III.

Exact date of the completion of the Camera della Segnatura.—How to find it.—Julius II. on a campaign.—Raphael and Michaelangelo interrupt their labours at the Vatican.—The Pope's return to Rome with a beard.—His portrait, bearded, in a fresco of the Camera della Segnatura.—Half the Sixtine ceiling finished by Michaelangelo, when Raphael completed the Camera della Segnatura.—Simultaneous exhibition of both masterpieces.—Pretended intrigues of Bramante to favour Raphael at the expense of Michaelangelo.—Julius II. as depicted by Raphael.—Portraits at Rome and Florence.—Cartoon of the Corsini Palace.—Giovanni da Udine.—Giovanni Francesco Penni.—The Madonna del Popolo.—Giulio Romano.—Marcantonio Raimondi, and the Massacre of the Innocents.—Bramante and Perugino.—Raphael's house.—Baldassare Peruzzi.—Agostino Chigi.—Cardinal Grimani.—The Duke of Urbino, and Phedra Inghirami.—Madonnas, produced during spare hours by Raphael.—Alba.—Sedia.—Garvagh.—Rogers, Virgin with the Diadem.—Frescos in a passage at the Vatican.—Change in Raphael's practice in composing designs and executing frescos.—Julius II. and Leo X., and their habit of overburdening Raphael with work.—Julius allows him to take new commissions.—Ceiling of the Camera dell' Eliodoro.—God's promise to Noah.—Influence of Michaelangelo.—Sacrifice of Abraham.—Jacob's Dream.—The burning bush.—Heliodorus.—Influence of Lionardo da Vinci.—Labour of assistants.—Giulio Romano.—Giovanni da Udine.—The Mass of Bolsena.—Date of completion of the first two frescos in the Camera dell' Eliodoro.—Madonna di Foligno.—Dosso Dossi.—Minor pictures.—Madonna del Divino Amore.—Madonna dell' Impannata and Bindo Altoviti.—Portrait of Bindo.—The Isaiah and John Goritz.—Direct imitation of Michaelangelo.

RAPHAEL took note of the close of his labours at the first of the Vatican chambers by means of an inscription including the ciphers of 1511 and the eighth year of the Pontificate.\* The date of this

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\* The 1st of November, we recollect, was the anniversary of the Pope's accession.

important event has never been determined. Yet there are means at hand to ascertain it with some approximation to certainty.

In autumn, 1510, the Pope left Rome to open the great campaign, from which he returned defeated on the 27th of June, 1511.\* The first gleams of success which cheered him as he entered the field were speedily clouded by disaster. Peace was refused after the capture of Mirandola. The loss of Bologna, soon after, gave Julius cause to repent that he had so hastily contemned the strength of his enemies.

Meanwhile, Raphael had relinquished his work at the Vatican, because the Pope had left without giving him the necessary sittings for the "Decretals." Pecuniary reasons produced similar results at the Sixtine, where Michaelangelo ceased to ascend his scaffoldings.† We can only fancy how the Pontiff received his two great painters when leisure allowed him to send for them again.

On the day of his departure from the Vatican, Julius rode in state towards the north with the shaven crown and chin to which he had been accustomed all his life. On the day of his arrival at Bologna he dismissed his barber, and resolved that his beard should remain uncut till the French had been expelled from the Peninsula. Raphael met him on his return with a beard of eight months' growth.‡ Both he and

\* Paris de Grassis. *Diarium*. Paris MS. *u. s.* iii. pp. 71, 149.

† The Pope had left Michaelangelo without money. See Heath Wilson's *Michaelangelo*, *u. s.* p. 173.

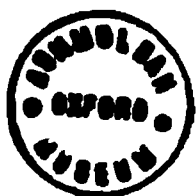
‡ Chron. of Friano degli Ubaldini in B. Podesta's *Documenti inedite relative a Michaelangelo*: fol. Rome, 1875, p. 16. Paris de Grassis, *Diarium*, *u. s.* iii. p. 109,

Michaelangelo presented themselves at the Vatican whilst the wounds were still smarting which the Pope had received at the hands of the Bolognese. Buonarrotti joined his own lamentations to those of the Pope, at the destruction of the great statue, which had cost so much money, and useless displays of genius at Bologna. To retrieve these losses new exertions were required. Julius eagerly asked when the Sixtine Chapel would be finished. "When I can," was the painter's characteristic reply. Incensed by the openness of this speech, the Pope raised his cane, and, if we believe Condivi, struck Michaelangelo. But he instantly sent a salve in the shape of 500 ducats.\* Michaelangelo returned with this encouragement to his work. Julius, impatient as ever, visited the platforms, to which he had a private means of access, and Raphael was honoured with sittings for the celebrated cartoon which became an heirloom in the palace of Urbino. The Pope's appearance, with a beard, in the fresco of the "Decretals" proves that the picture was put in hand after June, 1511. A certain time necessarily elapsed between the drawing of the cartoon and its transfer to the Camera della Segnatura; and we may safely infer that the fresco of the "Decretals" was finished in August of the same year. But Michaelangelo, by that time had executed about one half of the ceiling of the Sixtine. He was probably apprized

says, "Pontifex continue barbatus.  
Nam ab eo quod Bononiam ex urbe  
ingressus est nunquam barbatus

tondit."

\* Condivi, *u. s.* p. 42.



of the progress which his rival had made. It would not have been politic in him to allow the Camera della Segnatura to be seen in its finished state without showing some part, at least, of his own vast labours. It was then, we should think, that he wrote the letter in which he told his father "that he had given the last touches to that portion of the ceiling which he had commenced;" then, too, that he gave the Pope to understand that he was ready to take down the scaffoldings and curtain which concealed his work.\* Paris de Grassis informs us that the Pope chose the vigil and festival of the Assumption to attend vespers and high mass in the Sixtine Chapel, "and see the new pictures which had just been uncovered." The days on which these ceremonies took place were the 14th and 15th of August, 1511.†

It would thus appear that the Camera della Segnatura and the Sixtine were bared for the Pontiff, at the same interval of time; and Julius was enabled to institute a direct comparison between the masterpieces of the two great men whose services he had been so fortunate in securing.

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\* See the letter with the assumed date of 1509 in Heath Wilson's *Michaelangelo*, *u. s.* p. 163.

† P. de Grassis. *Diarium*, *u. s.* iii. p. 160. "Vespera et Missa in Capella Palatina Magna in Vigilia et die Assumptionis Glor. Virg. (Aug. 14 & 15, 1511). Pontifex . . . voluit interesse Vesperis et Missæ in capella maiori Palatina per sacristam celebratis festiviter,

. . . et ad eam Pontifex venit velut picturas novas ibidem noviter detectas videret, vel quia ex devotione ductus fuit." Mr. Müntz was fortunate enough to be the first to print this important passage in Paris de Grassis' diary. See "Une Rivalité d'Artistes" in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, Mars et Avril, 1882.

No wonder that the partisans on each side should now have urged the conflicting claims of their favourites;—that Bramante should suggest that, if the Pope wanted his tomb to be finished, he must take Michaelangelo from the Sixtine and employ Raphael in his place;—that Michaelangelo in a moment of ill-humour should inveigh against Bramante's wasteful proceedings in the rebuilding of St. Peter's.\* But in the midst of the squabble, Julius fell ill, so ill that his friends despaired of his life. When he recovered, after a strange repast of onions and peaches, he gave judgment on the respective merits of the two artists. He ordered Michaelangelo to proceed with the ceiling of the Sixtine; he gave Raphael a commission to decorate the passage between the Vatican and Belvedere,† and bid him also prepare to paint the chamber of Heliodorus, and thus the rivalry of two great masters was judiciously restrained within the proper channels.

Julius II. has been represented as a model of Italian heroism, a type of plastic and monumental individuality, and a very incarnation of strength and energy in an age which had already produced Alexander VI. and Cesar Borgia.‡ It was in a halo of this kind, we are told, that he appeared to

\* Condivi, *u. s.* p. 40.

† See the document which confirms this in E. Müntz's *Raphael*, p. 387. Raphael here seems to have shared the labours of Baldassare Peruzzi. Vasari tells us: "Avendo intanto Papa Giulio II.

fatto un corridore in Palazzo e vicino al tetto un' uccelliera, vi dipinse B. P. tutti i mesi di chiaro-scuro," &c. (Vas. viii. 222).

‡ See Gregorovius *Geschichte der Stadt Rom*. viii. p. 111.



Raphael and was depicted by him in a celebrated portrait. The truth is that the fiery Pope who bearded France and Spain and dreamt the subjugation of Italy, was not the person whom Raphael represented, unless we admit that the true portrait which perished in the course of ages differed from the many copies which escaped the vicissitudes of centuries.

Julius sat to Raphael not as a chief elated with victory, but as one humbled by reverses. No token of insatiable ambition is apparent in the likeness. In every extant example, Julius sits quiescent, in the papal chair, his figure seen to the knees at three quarters to the right. Buried in thought, he seems to brood over the memorable sentences which he spoke on his death bed, a confession of deadly sins, and an assurance that he knew he had ruled the church as it ought not to have been ruled.\* His very attitude is that of a man bending under cares. The beard which grew as a symbol of defiance, the head thrust deeply into the purple skull cap, the arches of the forehead copiously furnished with bristling hair, the wrinkles above the eye-lids, and the eyes themselves under a veil of pensiveness;—all indicate moodiness and age. The handkerchief in the right hand, the left hand on the arm of the chair, are not suggestive of the martial spirit which must occasionally have lighted and galvanized into action the frame of Julius. Raphael represented the Pontiff in full canonicals in the fresco of the “Decretals.” His look and the turn of his head

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\* Paris de Grassis. *Diarium*, u. s. iii. p. 388. Paris MS.

differ but little from those of the cartoon. In the "Expulsion of Heliodorus," which was painted later, the Pope sits defiant "*in sede gestatoria*." But the features are in lost profile and the glance is averted. We should think that the hasty and irascible Pope never gave the painter sittings for more than the cartoon; and from this preparatory design which is now in the Corsini Palace at Florence, the whole series of portraits was executed which we find in various European collections. The state to which this interesting masterpiece has been reduced by pin-holes and restoring is such as to make the track of the master's hand all but invisible.\* But the copies which were taken from it, not excepting those of the Florentine galleries, only display the work of Raphael's disciples, or of still later artists, and it is melancholy to think that the best and perhaps most original example perished after adorning, for more than half a century,

\* The cartoon is catalogued in the Inventory of Urbino, *u. s.* as follows:—"Quadro uno di Papa Giulio II. in carbone fatto da Raffaello d' Urbino con cornice di marmo." It is drawn with coal and chalk, of the same size as the picture at the Uffizi. An inventory of 1627 in the Archives of Florence further describes the piece as '*in carta*.' Yet another of 1641 states that the cartoon was at *Poggio Imperiale*, a country palace of the Medici. How it came into the Corsini palace is not certain. *Principe* Ulderico Medici, in his catalogue of the Corsini Collection,

thinks it was given as a present by the Duchess Vittoria to the Marquess Bartolommeo di Filippo Corsini, who was a favourite chamberlain of that princess. See *Catalogo della galleria Corsini*, 8vo, Flor. 1880, p. 45. The cartoon numbered 148 is M. 1.09 h. by 0.82. See also Gotti, *Gallerie di Firenze*, *u. s.* p. 334.

A chalk drawing of the head of Julius, of the same size as that in the cartoon of the Corsini palace, is in the Chatsworth Collection. But here the name of Raphael can not be maintained.

the favourite church of Julius II. Vasari and Lomazzo, who had the rare privilege of seeing that original in Santa Maria del Popolo at Rome, describe it as a marvel "the sight of which made one tremble."\* When the house of Rovere fell into decay at the close of the 16th century, Cardinal Sfondrato transferred the panel to his own palace and offered it for sale to the Emperor Rudolph II., and, shortly after this, all trace of the picture had been lost.† Francesco Maria I. of Urbino, sufficiently reverent of the memory of his great relation, probably obtained the cartoon from Raphael with whom, as we have seen, he had constant relations at Rome. He sent it to Urbino where it remained till ceded as part of the dowry of Vittoria, the last descendant of the joint houses of Montefeltro and Rovere who married Ferdinand of Tuscany in 1635. With the cartoon there came, likewise to Florence, two replicas of the portrait in oil, the first, at the Uffiz with characteristic peculiarities of a style which points to the authorship of Penni, the second at the Pitti, equally reminiscent of the manner of Giovanni da Udine. Nor is it unnatural that the duty

\* Santa Maria del Popolo. See Vas. viii. p. 21, and Lomazzo, *Idea del Tempio*, p. 116.

† See for the proceedings of Cardinal Sfondrato and his appropriation of the picture, the authorities in S. Vögelin's "Die Madonna von Loretto," 8vo, Zürich, 1870, p. 15; and for the negotiations with Rudolph II., the despatches of Vice-Chancellor Coradus dated

Rome, March 7, July 4, and C. 14, 1595, in a notice by L. Ullrich in the *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* of 1870, vol. v. p. 49. The fact that Coradus speaks of the portrait, not as a likeness of Julius, but as that of Leo X., is immaterial, since other authorities (Vögelin, *u. s.*) show that he mistook one pope for the other.

multiplying the works of Raphael should have fallen on men who owed what repute they acquired to their connection with the great master of Urbino.

Giovanni da Udine, a native of the city from which he took his name, was born in 1487, and apprenticed in 1502, to Martino da Udine. After four years of apprenticeship he was at liberty to travel, and it may be that he went to Venice in 1506 and studied, as Vasari thinks, under Giorgione. He soon came home again; and having been raised to the dignity of town councillor in 1508, he seems to have gained all the advantages that a provincial city could offer.\* But Rome exercised its usual attraction upon him, and he started to try his fortune in the Papal capital. Raphael took him into his service and employed him chiefly in designing ornaments and musical instruments. It was Giovanni, perhaps, who painted the lyres of Sappho and Erato in the "Parnassus" of the Camera della Segnatura. Vasari assigns to him the organ, viols, and cymbals in Raphael's "St. Cecilia" at Bologna.†

Giovan. Francesco Penni, called il Fattore from his cleverness in all kinds of subordinate work, was taken at an early age into Raphael's house where he remained

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\* From a record in the archives of Udine we learn that Giovanni was apprenticed for 4 years to Martino da Udine, on the 8th of July, 1502. It is therefore uncertain whether Vasari is right in saying that Gio. da Udine was a pupil of Giorgione (Vas. xi. p. 300).

See also Maniago, *Belle arti Friulane*, 8vo, 1823, p. 357. At Rome Vasari says he entered "the school of the youths of Raphael," evidence it would seem of his inexperience at the time. Vas. xi. 301.

† Vas. xi. 301.

for years in an obscure capacity. His faculty of imitation was so great that his drawings were often taken for those of his master. His skill as a designer and his talent in reproducing the balanced light and shade and rounded modelling of Raphael, would suffice to produce the Julius of the Uffizi, which technically remains below the level of the great artist himself. The golden tone of the Julius at the Pitti, and the Venetian texture of its stuffs, united to a certain neglect of outline characteristic of a painter of the school of Friuli, are fair evidence upon which to assign that picture to Giovanni da Udine.\*

\* The two portraits of Julius II. at the Uffizi and Pitti are catalogued as follows in the inventory of Pesaro, *u. s.* :—

1. "Quadro uno grande col retratto di Papa Giulio con cornice dorata.

2. "Quadro uno grande con cornice di noce col retratto di Papa Giulio II."

They are similarly registered in the "Note of pictures in the Guardaroba at Urbino sent to Florence in 1631" (Gotti, *Gallerie de Firenze*, p. 335); but whereas, the original inventory omits the name of Raphael, the Florentine, in each case, adds "di mano di Rafaello." The authorship of Raphael thus only dates from the year 1631.

Uffizi. No. 1131. Wood, m. 0·98 h. by 0·895. Julius, seen to the knees,  $\frac{3}{4}$  to the right, in a red skull-cap, violet cape lined with fur, and white surplice; a white handkerchief in his left,

and three rings on each hand. His seat is covered in red—ground greenish. This is the best of all the extant examples of the Pope's likeness; albeit Passavant prefers that of the Pitti, which he dubs original (*Pass. Raphael*, ii. p. 94). It is executed with great care, firmly outlined, of powerful tone, and modelled with good contrast of light and shade. But the mastery and true style of Raphael are not apparent.

Pitti. No. 151. Wood, same size as the Uffizi replica, and in the same colours. Here again, in spite of Passavant's opinion, who thinks this the original (*Raphael*, ii. 92), it is our duty to affirm that the technical execution is not that of Raphael. The handling is cold and formal, as one might expect from a copyist. It derives a certain charm at first sight from a general golden tone. But this impression vanishes when we observe

But the portrait of Julius II. was not a solitary example of Raphael's art in Santa Maria del Popolo. A Holy Family, invested with all the charms which so great a master could command, also adorned that church. It was enthusiastically admired by Vasari, and roused the cupidity of the same churchman who had appropriated the portrait of Julius. Cardinal Sfondrato offered the "Madonna del Popolo" to the Emperor at the close of the 16th century. According to a legend, which has not stood the test of investiga-

that the mass of light and shade is not balanced as Raphael would have balanced them, and the tone is uniform and thin. The treatment is neither conscientious nor firm. The drawing is also incorrect and mechanical, being seen as it was drawn with a pen and ink beneath the colour. Here and there the surplice and handkerchief are painted in with body of colour, in contrast with the flesh, which is translucid. The whole is brought into scale by glazings. All these peculiarities point to a Venetian, who is probably no other than Giovanni da Udine.

The next best examples of the Julius, after those of Florence, are: London, National Gallery. No. 27. Wood, 3 ft. 6 h. by 2 ft. 8. From the Falconieri Collection at Rome, and Angerstein Collection in London. An old copy, of ruddy tone, recalling the school of Giulio Romano, somewhat hard in outline. Late Leigh Court Collection, not so good as the foregoing—somewhat raw in tone. London, G. Cornwall Legh, Eaton Place, and

No. 131, at Manchester Exhibition. This copy is of a later time than the foregoing. Vienna Gallery. No. 364. A copy on canvas, not of the age of Raphael. Berlin. No. 232. From the Giustiniani Collection at Rome (1815), where it was assigned to Giulio Romano. Canvas 2 ft. 1½ h. by 2 ft. 6; rather a lifeless copy. Rome. Gall. Borghese. A carefully executed copy, assigned to Giulio Romano; but neither by him nor by any of Raphael's disciples. Turin Gallery. No. 199. An old copy on panel, much injured by restoring, which has modified the colours and the outlines. Rome. Palazzo Corsini. One of the most modern and least attractive replicas of the portrait of Julius is in this collection—Room iii. No. 44. It was purchased for Cardinal Neri Corsini by Bottari in 1762. See Mariette to Bottari, Aug. 7, 1762, in Bottari's *Raccolta*, Milan, ed. 1822, vol. iv. p. 545. For copies of the head of Julius, see Pass. Raphael, u. s. ii. p. 95.

tion, this celebrated picture found its way into the sanctuary of Loretto, from whence it disappeared in the days of the French Revolution. But it may be sufficient to say that the original cannot be traced beyond 1615, and from that day to this none but copies have been seen.\*

Vasari's facts have been frequently controverted, his artistic judgment has seldom been impugned. But he may have thought that the portrait of Julius II. and the "Holy Family" at Santa Maria del Popolo were original, when they were merely school pieces furnished by disciples in Raphael's painting-room. Yet, it is most improbable that school copies should have been displayed in one of the most prominent

\* The evidence has been collected by Professor Vögelin of Zürich, *u. s.* In the first place he notes Vasari's mistake in supposing that Mary is covering the child with a veil, whereas she is raising the veil under which Christ was sleeping. He next disposes of Passavant's conjecture that the picture was painted for Raphael Riario (Pass. i. p. 143), a conjecture, based, we may think, upon the assumption that the Madonna del Popolo is that to which Raphael is supposed to allude in a letter to Francia. That Sandrart could not have seen it in 1675 at Rome, he establishes conclusively. The transfer of the picture to Cardinal Sfondrato's Collection is shown by proofs already quoted in respect of the portrait of Julius. In 1741 a picture was bequeathed to the Sanc-

tuary of Loretto by one Girolamo Lottorio, of Rome, and the description of it in Pungileoni's extract from Murri's book "Sopra la Santa Casa di Loretto" (Raph. p. 86) coincides with what is known of the Madonna del Popolo. But whether this picture was an original or a copy cannot be ascertained. In 1759, Lottorio's bequest had disappeared from Loretto, and in its stead one or more bad copies, or substitutes for copies, were displayed. Of these one is supposed to have been carried off by General Colli in the 6th year of the French Empire. But we may pass over this episode since the picture thus alleged to have been stolen was apparently not that which Lottorio had bequeathed (see Vögelin, *u. s.* Die Madonna von Loretto).

edifices of Rome without being known as spurious productions. There is every reason to presume that Julius personally honoured the church of which he was the patron with masterpieces which have unfortunately perished. The "Madonna del Popolo," judged by the copies which have come down to us, was certainly one of the most beautiful of Raphael's compositions. It represented the Infant Christ starting from his sleep, his shoulders on a cushion, his hands raised, his glance directed to a piece of gauze held over him by the Virgin. Mary stood behind the couch raising the filmy cloth, her arms extended, a veil falling from her head. The bearded St. Joseph behind her, pensively rested both hands on the end of his staff. For years Raphael had brooded over this beautiful subject. It was a variety of the original of which the "Brocca Madonna" at Milan was a copy, a variety again of the "Virgin with the Diadem" at the Louvre, differing from both by the wakefulness of the Infant Christ, and the substitution of Joseph for the boy Baptist. Sketches of an early time and reminiscences of the allegories at the Vatican, filled the painter's memory. The Virgin's frame and dress and the bend of her head recalled the allegory of Justice in the Camera della Segnatura. The joyous infant was taken from designs in the master's portfolio, and we shall observe in a sheet of outlines at Lille how Raphael watched the frolics of children and produced at least one outline which is an exact counterpart of the Saviour in the "Madonna del Popolo." A neighbouring group reminds us of the



“Bridgwater Madonna,” or the “Virgin of the Palm,” and illustrates the quickness with which Raphael rang the changes on a well-worn theme, whilst in other drawings, now at Lille, the quick movements of children are studied in various forms, as if the master’s rapid pencil were following alterations of position as lightly as the boy before him made them.\* From all these materials, apparently collected before he came to Rome, Raphael created a composition which not only won the applause of ordinary spectators, but subsequently roused the imitative faculties of Sebastian del Piombo and caused a host of copyists to multiply the picture exceedingly.† The best extant example is that of the late Walter Kennedy Laurie at Florence,

\* Lille. No. 695. Silver-point. 0·116 h. by 0·144. One side of the sheet contains the Infant Christ lying on the couch with his shoulders raised on a pillow, the right arm and hand as they are in the picture; the left arm, half drawn, near the right arm, another outline of the same. At right angles to this figure is that of a boy looking up and resting against a parapet. To the left of that a variety of the same figure, above it an involved group of the Virgin, Child, and two other boys reminiscent of the Virgin of the Palm and the Bridgwater Madonna.

Lille. No. 696. Silver-point. 0·167 h. by 0·118. Five fragments of children, four of which might be varieties consulted for the Madonna del Popolo.

British Museum. Silver-point, on reddish brown prepared paper. From the Payne Knight Collection, nine fragments of figures, some of which remind us of those in No. 696 at Lille. Yet the drawing is too timid and minute to be assigned with certainty to Raphael. The hand is apparently the same as that of the Sappho and attendant poets in the same Collection.

† See Sebastian del Piombo’s imitation of the Madonna del Popolo in the gallery at Naples. Besides the examples noted in the text, one was in the Farnese Collection (accompanied by a copy), in 1680. See Campori, *Raccolta di Cataloghi*, p. 220 and 259. The size is given as Braccio 1, oncie 1½ h. by 1 onc. 7, on wood.

which suggests in parts the hand of Giulio Romano and Perino del Vaga.\*

\* Florence. Kennedy Laurie Collection. No. 73 in the exhibition of 1870 at Rome. The subject is described in the text; the figures of life-size. The panel is split in two places. One split runs down the Virgin's right hand, another vertically along her cheek and left wrist to the left foot and right knee of the child. The curtain is green, the Virgin's dress red, her mantle blue, the child's pillow and bed white. Of all the parts the best is the head of St. Joseph, which is well-modelled in well-blended tones, rich in tone, and firmly drawn as Giulio Romano might have done. The contours of the Virgin are harder, the tints more fluid and uniform, and tinged with red. The child also is imperfectly drawn,—all of which points rather to Perino del Vaga than to Giulio. A very favorable opinion might concede the intervention of Raphael in the head of St. Joseph. He was too clever to leave such crude tints on a panel as those of the curtain, the red tunic, the blue mantle or veil, or to draw so unskillfully the hands and wrists of the Virgin. The history of this picture, as now handed down to us, is that it was at one time in Lucca, where it was bought by a clever Florentine dealer, Signor Gagliardi, who sold it to Mr. Walter K. Laurie. The following copies are worthy of notice :—

Verona. Late Signor Tortella. On canvas. Same size as the fore-

going; much injured, and, part obliterated, part repainted. Though some of the fragments that remain are very fine, the state of the whole is such as to preclude a correct opinion. In 1869 the Academy of Bologna certified in favour of Raphael. The picture was found by Signor Tortella at Mantua. Louvre. No. 378. Wood, m. 1, 21 h. by 0.91. From the Collection of Louis XVIII. This picture has also been much injured, and is now of a dark tone. Milan. Brera. No. 378. Formerly in the Padre Capuccini of Sassoferato (Ricci, *Memorie Storiche*, 8vo, Macerata, 1834, ii. 262), and after that in Sant' Andrea, of Milan. Canvas. Feeble, and of the decline of the Florentine school. *Turin Museum*. (Not exhibited.) Panel with three vertical splits. This is also a Florentine example, and probably identical with the copy sold in 1847 to the King of Sardinia by the Marquess Spinola of Genoa (see *Pass. Raph.* ii. 102). It is an old copy apparently by a follower of one of the Allori. Of dark tone, and altered by restoring. *Verona*. A fairly old copy was seen by the authors in possession of the Parroco of Santa Maria in Organo in this city. *Loretto*. In the Sanctuary of this place a variety of the Madonna del Popolo is still shown. The principal group is moved to a position nearer the left side of the picture. More of St. Joseph is seen, and the distance is a landscape. These changes were made

Younger than Penni or Giovanni da Udine, Giulio Romano came early into Raphael's painting-room.\* He was a Roman who grew to his work, and developed those powers of adaptation which were best suited for a man bred to assist a first-rate master. Born, as we have reason to assume, between 1492 and 1499, he was much younger than Penni or Giovanni da Udine, with whom he was soon able to mate when they all grew older.† But he had more

to fit the picture into the altar of the Marchese Solari in S. M. di Loretto — a work of the 18th century. Kyburg (Switzerland). Old copy, once in possession of the family of the Counts Ferraris, which was settled in Innbruck in 1626. This example has been injured by the light of an altar. Restored by Eigner of Munich. *Naples Museum*. No. 16. A poor copy, feeble in drawing, and uniform in tone. This is the picture which Passavant (ii. 104) describes as having been in the Abbey of Montecassino, where it was assigned to A. del Sarto. *Fontenay aux Roses*, near Paris. A very feeble old copy in the parish church. Varieties of the picture are the following: Stockholm. Mr. Axel Lamm. Copy on wood. Small figures, from the Collection of the painter Bystroem. This is a picture of the 17th century. Miles Collection. Leigh Court. Feeble Florentine example without the St. Joseph. Of the time of the followers of Allori. Of old copies noted in the Farnese Collection at Parma, and the Queen Christine and Orleans Collections,

in Italy and France, the trace has been lost. But see Passavant's list (*u. s.* ii. 102-4), who also mentions an adaptation of the subject, with the addition of the boy Baptist and a kneeling St. Anthony in possession of Count A. Maggiori at Fermo. This picture, shorn of the two additional figures, was sold to the Grand Duchess Maria of Russia (now deceased). On the staff of Joseph are the letters R. S. V. A. XVII. p. . The Virgin and St. Joseph are like those of the Madonna del Popolo. But the Infant Christ is asleep with his legs crossed. The panel is much injured, and an imitation of Raphael's early style by an Umbrian artist. It was Marquess Campana who sold this piece to the Grand Duchess.

\* Vas. (viii. p. 24) says: "Se lo prese in casa e se l' allevò." Aretino (in the Marescalco, Ed. Giolito, Ven. 1553, sc. iii.) calls Giulio "di Raffaello alunno."

† Darco's life of Giulio contains the registry of his death "at the age of 47," in November, 1546 (2nd Ed. 1852, p. 1). But this can hardly be correct, and experts suspect an error in the statement of age.

in him than either of these artists ; at the period of the Camera della Segnatura he was probably old enough to prepare work for his chief and assist Baviera the colour-grinder, who was half a domestic and half an artist, but who never rose to higher professional honours than those of retailer of the prints issued by Raphael in partnership with Marcantonio of Bologna.\*

Raphael had a genuine admiration for every form of the engraver's art, and a special fondness for Albert Dürer, whose prints were all pinned on the walls of his painting room.† When Marcantonio came to Rome he was well received by Raphael, who probably knew that he was Francia's pupil. After some years of practice at Bologna, the young engraver had gone to Venice and Florence, where there were more chances of multiplying the compositions of celebrated men than elsewhere. At Bologna, Marcantonio's models were Umbrian, at Venice German. When he settled at Florence, the fame of Michaelangelo soon attracted him, and he was not long in producing the celebrated plate of the "Climbers," in which he first adopted the forms of the Tuscans. But after he had established himself at Rome, the painter whose temper suited him best was Raphael, and he successfully acquired Raphael's manner. There are few men of great repute in the history of Italian art whose life is

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\* Baviera is described as Raphael's "garzone ch' aveva cura d' una sua donna." (Vas. viii. pp. 35, 37 ; ix. 83 ; and x. 157.) His name, preserved in a record of Nov.,

1515, was "Baverius Charocii de Parma," and he qualified himself as "pictor." (Il Buonarroti, 2nd Series, i. p. 127.)

† Dolce Dialogo, pp. 24, 25.

so little known as Marcantonio's. But the plate of the "Bathers" bears the date of 1510, and the prints which came into circulation at Rome were probably executed later. The best evidence of a connection which honours both Raphael and Raimondi will be found in the "Massacre of the Innocents," in which we have already seen that the two masters were partners. The studies which Raphael made for the use of his friend were contemporary with those which were drawn for the "Creation of the Planets" and the "Judgment of Solomon" at the Vatican.

In the Albertina Collection at Vienna, we find a pen sketch of a naked soldier clutching at the foot of a child in the arms of its mother. These two figures form a splendid contrast on the left-hand side of Marcantonio's print. On the same paper a kneeling woman is represented in the attitude of the false mother in the "Judgment of Solomon," establishing at once the contemporary creation of the two subjects. The back of the sheet is filled with an outline of the "Creation of the Planets."\*

As to the period when Marcantonio began his plate, there is testimony of another kind. Two or three years after the first Chamber of the Vatican was finished, Araldi, a second-rate artist, was employed in the Convent of San Paolo at Parma, to paint a series of Gospel incidents, amongst which the "Judgment of Solomon" and the "Massacre of the Innocents" are conspicuous. The form of these pictures was derived

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\* Albertina. Vienna. Pen sketches. See *antea*.

from the originals of Raphael, and the period of the plagiarism is revealed in a Latin inscription with the date of 1514.\*

The life of Araldi is too sketchy to permit of establishing with certainty how the masterpieces of Raphael first tempted his imitative faculties. But the natural presumption appears to be that Marcantonio's prints were in circulation previous to 1514. In the first period of his student life, Raphael composed a series of incidents connected with the "Massacre of the Innocents." We noticed in the first volume of this work a pen sketch of a soldier attempting to deprive a mother of her child, in a sheet of the Venice Sketch-book, and suggested its derivation from an original by Signorelli. A second and still earlier silver-point outline in the same volume was described as representing a matron seated on the ground, wailing and stopping her ears, whilst a soldier stooped to stab the babe on her lap. Behind the pair, a man in helmet and breastplate was shown, seizing a woman by the hair, and threatening to kill her infant, regardless of the wooden slipper with which another female was striking him.

Varieties of these two incidents introduced into the print seem to manifest the tenacity of Raphael's memory. On the left, in Marcantonio, a woman presents her back to the spectator, and offers a timid resistance to the soldier who grabs at his prey. On the right a naked guard with a helmet seizes the locks

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\* "Transivimus per ignem et aquam, et eduxisti nos in refrigerium, MDXIV."

of his victim, and points his sword at her offspring. In the first case the episode at Venice is adapted directly, in the second it is repeated from another point of view. That both should be found with some diversity in one of Giotto's frescos, enables us to presume, that prior to the time when Raphael filled the pages of his note-book, he paid a visit to Assisi, which lay within a walk of Perugia, and carried off with him the ideas which he afterwards realized in a new way. No doubt persons such as now dispute the genuineness of the Venice drawings will consider these coincidences an effect of chance. Yet when we revert to the studies which Raphael made at a later age, and see that he used the same episodes at two different periods, we cannot admit the theory of chance, but prefer to believe that the sketches at Venice, and the Roman studies of other collections, are all from Raphael's hand.

Marcantonio's plate is not interesting solely because of its connection with early and late efforts of Raphael's pencil. Its chief importance lies in the fact that so many of the master's preparations for it should have been preserved. We know of no picture put together with more forethought as regards movement and expression, than the "Death of the Innocents." The old tradition of the schools which made Herod command, and a guard encircle, the execution is abandoned. The scene is laid in a paved square, separated by a stone parapet from a river which turns at a sharp angle and flows through the arches of a bridge thrown horizontally across the background.

The steep banks on both sides are lined with towers, churches, and houses, and the bright sun of an Italian forenoon strongly illumines the space. Two dead children on the verge of the foreground indicate the previous passage of the officers of Herod. Each of these little ones appears to mark the place of the principal divisions into which the figures are distributed. On the one hand is the naked soldier already alluded to. His stalwart form is unclad, and visible in full front as he bends to unsheathe a long sword, which has all but left the scabbard. His purpose is to destroy the boy whom he has caught by the leg. The mother to whom the boy is clinging encircles him with an agonized grasp, and she strides away in the vain hope of averting the stroke. Behind to the left, a companion stooping to the pavement where she has found her child, and taken it to her knees, looks with pathetic energy into its lifeless face. In her rear, the woman described a few lines back as a reminiscence of Signorelli retreats with her back to the spectator, menaced by an executioner. A gap between these groups shows us a horror-struck female, who witnesses unpursued the cruelties perpetrated around her, whilst the Innocent who belongs to her stands and cries on the pavement. On the other hand, a young wife kneeling on the right-foreground balances her struggling boy on her hip whilst she pushes away a naked soldier who strikes as he passes. Immediately behind her is the woman arrested by a hand on her locks, a group adapted in reverse from the Venetian Sketch-book. In rear of the passing soldier,



another executioner, with a dagger, threatens a child in the arms of its terrified parent. The two principal sections thus cleverly balanced are united at the centre by a large-formed *contadina*, who runs headlong towards the spectator with her babe pressed to her bosom.

Twenty-two figures make up the composition, some of them magnificent as single displays of shape and emotion, others superb as parts of groups. The whole assumes dramatic proportions, combined with a symmetry too faultless not to betray excessive premeditation, too sculptural and academic not to reveal an obvious clinging to models or the antique.

If we pass from the copper-plate to the originals which Raphael furnished to Marcantonio, we shall observe a closer connection between the labours of his earlier and later time. It will not be necessary to refer again to those sketches which reveal the common origin and age of the frescos of the Segnatura and the studies for the print. The principal drawing to which the engraver applied himself was that which so long formed part of the Johnson Collection at Oxford. On the left side of that sheet, the naked soldier unsheathing his sword, and the woman he pursues, are given with surprising vigour and correctness. The rest of the paper is filled with almost all the persons in the right-hand side of the engraving, except the matron and her persecutor on the extreme right. Instead of these we find the mother grasped by the hair, and threatened by the sword, in the same movements as the similar couple in the Venice Sketch-book. That this couple should have been neglected by

Marcantonio is natural enough. They would have destroyed in some measure the delicate balance of his arrangement. They were, therefore, left without the pinholes which enabled him to transfer the other shapes to his plate. But their presence in the design not the less confirms that the silver-point outline in the Venice Sketch-book was Raphael's.\*

Another genuine study in red chalk, at Windsor, represents four of the persons on the left-hand side of Marcantonio's plate, the naked soldier unsheathing his sword being alone, without the mother whom he attacks. It also gives the second division of the arrangement in the print minus the woman on the extreme right. In her stead we find an old female in the attitude of a spectator, not unlike the matron who strikes with her slipper in the Venice Sketch-book—evidence again of the persistent way in which Raphael reverted to his earlier sketches to form and expand a new one.† For both these designs it might be thought that preliminary preparations should be found in a sheet at the Albertina where Raphael has drawn on a single page the naked soldier, the woman he attacks, and repetitions of her head and shoulders, her legs, and one arm. But these studies are much

\* Ex Johnson Collection at Oxford. Clever and rapid pen sketch.  $9\frac{1}{2}$  in. h. by  $14\frac{3}{4}$ . From the Wicar, Lawrence, and Woodburne Collections, and fac-similed under No. 12 in the Lawrence Gallery.

† Windsor. Red chalk, and not pen sketch, as stated by mistake in

Pass. ii. p. 489.  $7\frac{7}{12}$  in. h. by  $12\frac{7}{12}$ . Another peculiarity of this study is that the crouching woman on the right foreground is only finished to the waist; and a special outline of her face, with a variety in the profile, is given at the bottom of the paper.

later in date and bolder in style than anything that Raphael could have done previous to 1514; and the figures differ in action from those in Marcantonio's print.\*

Looking back into the annals of painting and sculpture in Italy we trace the development of the subject of the "Massacre of the Innocents" from the pulpit of Pisano and the pictures of Duccio and Matteo at Sienna, to the frescos of Giotto at Assisi, of Angelico and Domenico Ghirlandaio at Florence, and Signorelli at Arcevia. The most dramatic of all masters without any exception is Giotto, whose composition in the Lower church of Assisi is unrivalled for grandeur of conception, variety of incident, and powerful display of passion. The feelings under the sway of which we contemplate these masterpieces are intensified if we consider that Raphael could only have produced the "Massacre" or "The Judgment of Solomon" after previously consulting them. The soldier on the left, who grasps the child by the wrist and points his sword to its breast, is the obvious precursor of similar figures in the *Camera della Segnatura* and Marcantonio's print. The warrior preparing to strike the babe

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\* Albertina. Red chalk. 9 in. h. by 15½.

A copy of this drawing is at the Ambrosiana of Milan.

British Museum. A pen sketch, washed with umber, representing the Massacre in the same form as that in Marcantonio's print, seems executed in the rapid style of Polidoro.

Dresden. Royal Cabinet. Here, too, is a replica of the print in black and white. But it is hardly attributable to Raphael, to whom it is assigned.

Pesth. Esterhazy Museum. A pen and ink reproduction of Marcantonio's print is also here, under the name of Raphael, but cannot be accepted as genuine.

whose foot he is holding, the mother turning with a grim look at him and pressing her offspring to her bosom, or the woman on the extreme left bending over the corpse which she hopes to revive with her kisses, are all models which recur in the works of Duccio and Angelico, but which Raphael assimilated in their Giottesque form. Ghirlandaio, who consulted the same sources and combined them with ideas derived from the sculpture of pagan times, was the first to import into the scene the fighting cavalry of the ancients. He also showed versatility in an inversion of parts, depicting the mother as the aggressor attempting the rescue of her child, and tearing the hair of her opponent. But he also adopted the traditional passages illustrated by his predecessors, and displayed in the effort all the skill which gave him so much repute at Florence. Yet the influence which he wielded over Raphael was less profound than that of Giotto. What Raphael embodied in addition to the traditional modes of distributing figures and exhibiting passion, was the perfect drawing and painting of his own age, the rigid economy of numbers in the formation of groups, the symmetry and intertress of Da Vinci. The point which he missed to a certain extent was the dramatic realism and energy of Giotto, who was not content to indicate the closer antagonism of persons in juxtaposition, but gave his combinations a wider and more complex connection; and thus remained for all time superior in one sense to the greatest masters of the Italian revival.

Raphael's relations with Marcantonio must have

been intimate in 1511; they were probably less so than those which old habit had enabled him to form with Bramante and Perugino. We have seen the impression which these two celebrated men left on the frescos of the "Disputa" and the "School of Athens." Unfortunately, the links by which it might historically be traced have been lost; even monuments which might have illustrated the fondness of the three artists for each other have disappeared, and the very house which Bramante built for Raphael "of brick and concrete" in the Borgo, near St. Peter's, was taken down and replaced by a modern palace, which still exists under the name of the Palazzo Accoramboni.\*

Bramante was Raphael's mentor, Perugino only his teacher. They probably all came together every day at St. Peter's or the Camere. But with Perugino the old companionship was soon to close. Julius II. had leisure to contrast the master's work with that of his disciple, and Perugino was dismissed to end his days in the neighbourhood of Perugia. The void which Perugino left was filled by Baldassare Peruzzi, whose name we find in a document of 1511, in which Raphael becomes security to Baldassare's landlord for the repairs of a house in the Via del Corso.†

Both Raphael and Baldassare were patronized at this time by Agostino Chigi, the banker of Sienna,

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\* Palazzo Accoramboni. See Pass. ii. 390; and Müntz, Raphael, p. 630.

† This interesting record has been published by Mr. Minghetti

in the notice of Raphael which appeared in 1883. It was furnished to him by Signor C. Corvisieri. N. Antologia, 2nd series, No. 39, 1883, 3rd note to p. 613.

who had contributed so much to the advancement of Perugino and Sodoma. The clever financier noticed the rising genius of Raphael and the growing fondness of the Pope for his skill. He felt that he could not then detach the artist from the great duty which he had undertaken at the Vatican. But as early as 1510 he asked him for the design of two shields, which were chased and finished by the Perugian goldsmith, Cesarino Rosetti.\* We have seen how the Cardinals, Medici, De' Monti, and Farnese sat to Raphael at the Camere. Other prelates observed his talents with curious perspicacity. Cardinal Grimani, the happy possessor of the finest collection of books and antiquities at that time in Rome, recommended to him the peculiar abilities of Giovanni da Udine.† The Duke of Urbino was his friend, equally so Phedra Inghirami, the favourite preacher of Julius at the Sixtine, who soon sat for a portrait; Sigismund Conti, the Pope's secretary, for whom the "Madonna di Foligno" was executed; and Baldassare Castiglione, who often came to court before he finally settled at Rome.

Great as were the labours which engaged Raphael's time at the Vatican, they were not so completely absorbing but that he could find leisure now and then to sit in his workshop at home, and produce pictures which were to carry his name abroad with as much efficacy as the wall-paintings of the Camere. There

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\* Nov. 10, 1510. See the payment to Cesarino di Francesco in | Fea, *Notizie*, 8vo, Rome, 1822, p. 81.  
† Vas. xi. p. 301.

were necessarily periods during which the practice of fresco-painting would prove impossible—days of cold in the short winters of the Italian capital. During these intervals Raphael painted the portrait of Julius, and the “*Madonna del Popolo*.” But he also composed the “*Madonna di Casa d’ Alba*,” now at St. Petersburg, the “*Virgin*” of Lady Garvagh, at the National Gallery, the Rogers “*Madonna*,” and the “*Virgin of the Diadem*,” at the Louvre. All these were creations of his leisure hours, which naturally reflected the same currents of thought, and displayed the same reminiscences and changes of style, as the frescos of the *Camera della Segnatura*.

If it were not otherwise known that Raphael transferred his residence directly from Florence to Rome, the “*Alba Madonna*” would prove it. This circular picture represents the Virgin resting in a meadow decked with violets, ranunculuses, and other wild flowers. She rests on the ground, against the fallen trunk of an oak tree. A variegated cloth which shelters the back of her head joins the blue mantle on her shoulders, and winds round her waist, leaving its superfluous folds on the grass. A red tunic covers the frame, and descends in rich masses to the foot, which it leaves uncovered. The left leg extended, the right bent underwards, the elbow leaning on the fallen oak, produce a movement less natural than artificial. The Virgin turns her face and bends her form to the left, the right hand holding the book half closed over the fingers. Her left is extended so as to lie on the shoulders of John, who

kneels, with a long reed cross in his arms, to the left. The boy Redeemer half climbs, half glides on her lap, clinging to her, whilst he turns to grasp at the stem of the cross, to which his glance is directed. The Virgin also looks at the symbol, as if she too, having read of the prophecy in the pages of her book, had a presage of the coming martyrdom. The boy Baptist looks at them both eagerly. All this in a beautiful landscape that takes us to the banks of the Tiber, the stream of which appears on the low ground, whilst the point of a reach on the left, and the height of a hill on the right, are clustered with farms under a sky hazy with clouds. Memory takes us to Florence, when we see Raphael producing a round so like that of Michaelangelo, or creating faces so clearly impressed with the grace and softness of Lionardo. With equal vividness we remember faces similar in mould and elevation of expression in the "Entombment" of Atalanta Baglioni. The boy Baptist recalls the lovely St. John in the "Madonna in Green" at Vienna. And then we wander back to Rome again, because it was there only that Raphael modelled form so bold in action, so ripe in contour, or so deep in feeling. At Rome, too, he adopted the statuesque drapery, the rich dress, and artful turn of antique costume which are so conspicuous here. The pose and air of the Virgin, the sandals on her feet, all point to the period of the "Parnassus," and we recognize in her figure some of the pagan loveliness of Sappho. Shoots of gnarled oak springing from the fallen trunk appear to indicate the patron for



whom the picture was executed. Was it Julius II., or one of the Chigi, his adopted sons, who gave the commission? An old copy of the panel has been recently discovered near Genoa, which was said to belong to a distant branch of the Rovere, near Savona. Strange that the tree in that picture should have expanded to a goodly size, whilst the race of which the oak was the motto lost its boughs previous to complete extinction.\*

\* St. Petersburg. Hermitage. No. 38. Wood transferred to canvas. M. 0·95 in diameter. We have it on the doubtful authority of Padre Resta—in a MS. called “Galleria portatile,” in the Ambrosiana of Milan, to which Passavant had access (Raphael, ii. p. 106)—that this picture was on the high altar of the Olivetani at Nocera, till some time in the 17th century, when it was sold to the Marchese del Carpio, Viceroy of Naples. Conca, in his *Descrizione Odeporica*, i. 236, speaks of it as an original of Raphael, in possession of the Duke of Alva at Madrid in 1793. The dealer, W. G. Coesvelt, is said to have bought it in the beginning of the present century from “Mr. Edmund Burke,” for a time Danish envoy at Madrid. Coesvelt sold it in 1836 to the Hermitage Collection for £24,000. Before the picture was transferred to canvas it had two very unfortunate cracks—one of them, running down the centre of the picture vertically, taking the cheek and leg of the Madonna and the right side of the Saviour. A second

split runs down the landscape to the right of the Virgin. These fissures have led to a necessary patching in the parts which they injured. But besides this there are retouches in the left eye, nose, mouth, and cheek of the Virgin, the hair, temple, cheek, left thigh, and knee of Christ, and the hair, left cheek, and breast and neck of the Baptist. The colours are injured in the background and dresses. But in preserved places, such as the knee of the Baptist, and the right knee and leg of Christ, the exquisite finish of Raphael is maintained.—Genoa. Signor Peirano. The composition here is the same as in the St. Petersburg examples, but it is placed in a square with a wide space of sky, in which a large oak tree is seen. It is a poor copy, and comparatively modern—found in the shop of a cobbler at Lavagnola near Savona, who is described as an impoverished descendant of the Rovere whose name was Andrea Basso della Rovere. See “*La Vergine della Rovere*,” by F. Casella, 8vo, Genova, 1877. Passavant de-

It was not unnatural that a Roman picture completed in the pontificate of Julius should have embodied reminiscences of Florence. Raphael had taken his portfolios and sketch-books to Rome, just as we fancy Perugino took his from Rome to Florence and Perugia. The Infant Christ of the "Alba Madonna" is closely related in shape to one which the master drew in a spirited Florentine sketch contemporary with the first designs for the Bridgewater "Madonna." \* But the Virgin was studied from nature in the painting-room at Rome, where a model more like a boy than a woman was copied in a light summer garment, exposing the whole of the outline and modelling of the legs.† On the back of the sheet Raphael composed the whole group, which came varied indeed into the picture, but with such slight changes only as were made in the kneeling posture of

scribes a copy in the Collection of the Prince of Peace at Rome (Pass. ii. 106). Another one on canvas is in the Barberini Palace at Rome—an heirloom of the Colonna family; yet another of feeble workmanship in the Palazzo Borghese at Rome. For other copies see Pass. *u. s.* A cartoon, supposed to be original, but so injured as to preclude criticism (a square), is in the sacristy of San Giovanni Laterano at Rome. Of the replica (a round), which was once in the church of the Knights of Malta at Gaeta, we can only say that, though it was in its place years ago, it has since disappeared. The registers of the church describe it as a copy

by Penni.

\* Florence. Uffizi. No. 496. The figure is in the centre of a sheet of pen drawings, containing six groups of the Virgin and Child, on the obverse of which is a Venus like that known as the Medici.

† Lille Museum. No. 740. M. 0·410 h. by 0·269. Red chalk. A spirited sketch; the book hardly indicated, the outstretched arm only suggested, and the hand wanting. The head in a cloth, which leaves the ear bare, is feminine. The legs have the muscular development of a male model. The drawing and foreshortenings are masterly.

the Baptist, or the upraised arm of the Infant Christ, or the Virgin's book transferred from the right to the left hand. But here again came one of the flashes which we have so often noticed in Raphael's career. As he created the "Madonna di Casa d' Alba," he also composed the "Madonna della Sedia," and the first fleeting impression of that picture, arranged alternately for a square and a round, is thrown on the same paper as the "Madonna di Casa d' Alba."\* Contemporary with these designs was perhaps the small and injured cartoon in the Albertina at Vienna, where the Baptist offers a lamb to the caress of the Infant Christ, and the Saviour, pointing to Heaven, seems to whisper the "Ecce Agnus Dei." But this form of arrangement never came into a finished picture, and, if a genuine work of the master, remained, as so many others had remained before it, a mere project.† The "Madonna

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\* Lille Museum. No. 739. Back of the foregoing. Here the hand which holds the book in the picture clutches the folds of the mantle, and the book is open in the other hand. The near leg of the Baptist is on the ground, and not kneeling, and the Infant Christ takes the cross lower down than he does in the picture. A slight sketch of an infant is beneath the composition. Above, to the left, the Virgin and Child, as a first thought for the round of the "Madonna della Sedia." To the right of that, but in a square, the Virgin and Child with the boy Baptist, and to the right of that again, a sketch of an edifice and the plan

of another. The sketch for the "Alba Madonna" is in red chalk; the other parts are done with a pen.

† Vienna. Albertina. 7½ in. h. by 6. An oval pen drawing, washed with umber and heightened with white. Here again the Baptist supports himself on the near leg, whilst the other is kneeling. The Virgin wears a cap with a band which runs down the cheek and round the throat. The outlines have been taken up by a restorer, who also retouched the shadows and white lights; and so much has been added to the original work, that we might be justified in doubting whether the drawing is genuine.

di Casa d' Alba," on the contrary, was not only carried out as a picture, it came down to us as an example of Raphael's most careful work, and most exquisite finish, injured no doubt to an extraordinary extent by abrasions and restoring, yet still admirable in parts for marvellous finish and delicacy of modelling. Contemporary with the round of the "Casa d' Alba," the "Garvagh Madonna" was painted by Raphael as a variety of the same theme, with a setting of figures and details and their surroundings in a new shape. The Virgin sits on a bench in a room with her face relieved in light against the dark ground of a square pillar, which supports the arches of two windows, opening at each side to a Tiberine landscape in the suburbs of Rome. The clever way in which this landscape of walled houses near the banks of a stream is tempered with greys to bring out the brightness of the sunny air that plays on the group in the room, leaving the walls in a beautiful gloom, is well calculated to remind us of the lessons which Raphael took when he first wandered to Florence; they recall a wonderful effect of a similar kind in Lionardo's "Nun," at the Pitti.\* The group is one of the subtle variations on the melody which never ceased to exercise the master's ingenuity. Sideways to the left, her head bending to the right, the Virgin looks at the young Baptist standing with the reed cross in his grasp, and raising his left arm to catch at a pink held up by the Saviour. The boy

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\* Pitti. No. 140.

Christ, naked on her lap, supports himself on one hand, whilst he presents the flower with the other. The blue mantle that hangs from her shoulder is raised to shield the Infant Saviour from an imaginary breeze. A gentle pressure on the camel's-hair coat of the Baptist, encourages him to claim the pink. Christ's look at his elder playmate, his momentary action, as he shows the flower, is caught from life with indescribable grace. There is a yellow wheaten tone in this picture, a delicate velvet texture in the flesh, that equal in tender softness anything ever done by Correggio. A beautiful harmony is produced by the colours of the sky-blue tunic of the Virgin, of which the gathered puffs are confined at the shoulders and throat by the close-fitting edge of a rose-tinted bodice. The draped blue sleeve adds liveliness to the near contrasts of a sapphire mantle, with its lining of brown, and the roseate carmine of a skirt. The naked forms of the children come out gaily on this splendid carpet of colour. The Virgin's hair, of auburn yellow, is plaited into a veil of stuff, striped in green and yellow, and blue and green, worked in gold; the splendour of the dress is Roman in taste and sit. In the features of mother and child we discover the mould of the "Charity," in the Borghese predella; but, as in Raphael's Roman period, all forms received a grand expansion, here, too, they are larger than those of the Florentine time. Nothing can exceed the beauty of the pyramidal composition, the elegance of the dress, the happy smile of the child looking down, or the eagerness of

the boy Baptist looking up, whose shape is as charming as that of his prototype in the "Bella Giardiniera." A moderate scale of tints—some of them in tertiaries—distinguishes the picture; technically, the handling still testifies to the teaching of Michaelangelo and Lionardo. The drapery broadly disposed where it hangs is carefully gathered at the bends and articulations, so that the play of the under forms is revealed with practical ingenuity.\*

To the Rogers "Madonna" we turn as to a lost example of the master. The kindly poet who was so pleased to own it died, and for a season a fortunate purchaser consented to its public exhibition. But since 1857, when the art treasures of all England

\* National Gallery. No. 744. Wood. 15 in. h. by 13. Knee piece. From the Aldobrandini Collection at Rome and the collection of Lady Garvagh in London (1865). There is a fairly preserved copy in the Gallery of Bergamo. In Casa Staccoli at Urbino there is an adaptation of the subject with the addition of St. Joseph on one side and St. Anthony on the other. The painter seems to be Palmerini, a pupil of Timoteo Viti at Urbino. Another version of this variety with St. Peter and St. Paul, at the sides of the principal group, is on canvas, in the Collection of Blaise Castle, signed "Zenon Veronensis pinxit, MDXXIX." The distance here is a landscape. An imitation of the original, in the Grosvenor Collection, shows the Infant Christ tak-

ing a reed cross from the boy Baptist. Behind the Virgin, to the left, is a male saint. The name of Fra Bartolommeo given to this panel cannot be sustained. It is more probably of the school of Pacchia of Sienna. An outline of a female model in a cap, No. 694, in the Museum of Lille, a silver-point drawing, with part of an Infant Christ, looks like a first thought for the Garvagh Madonna by Raphael. Several sketches of children and Madonnas on another sheet (730), in the same Collection, appear to have been before Raphael at the same time. But if these sketches were used at all they were all reversed. For copies and adaptations not mentioned here, see Passavant, ii. p. 107.

were brought together at Manchester, no one had the privilege of seeing it. Yet our memory still clings to this masterpiece as embodying the feeling and tenderness of the Florentine period manifested in the *Madonna del Gran Duca* and the *Virgin of Casa Tempi*, combined with the dignity and elevation that characterize the later *Madonna del Pesce*. Though different in many ways from all these, the Rogers "*Madonna*" is marked at once as being of Raphael's early Roman period by the greater breadth of its style, the grander forms of the figures and the richness of dress which the master first appreciated after he witnessed the splendours of the Vatican. But for the variegated head-gear, veil and puffed sleeve, one might say that the group is a simple one of a mother and child in a landscape. Both figures are turned in the same direction, the Virgin behind a parapet on which the Saviour is standing; her right hand round the Saviour's waist, her left supporting the infant's foot which he raises whilst he throws his arms round his mother's neck. The action is the more charming as the Virgin gazes at the boy with a delicious fondness whilst he looks out of the picture with a smile as if unconscious of all but the joy of the moment. The pleasure with which this picture fills the spectator would be without alloy but for the state to which it was reduced by accidents and repairs. A splendid original cartoon, once in possession of Captain Stirling of Glentyan gave a better idea of the loveliness of a composition which had something of the weight and

grandeur of those for which Fra Bartolommeo was celebrated.\*

Raphael's creation of the "Virgin of the Diadem" after he composed the sleeping child with the Virgin and Baptist, which we saw in its various forms in the Academy of Florence and the Bröcca Collection at Milan, is a striking instance of his versatility. The Virgin on the ground, with one hand round the neck of the kneeling Baptist lifting the veil from the face of the slumbering child, the Baptist in adoration with the reed cross against his shoulder, would equally describe the cartoon at Florence and the panel at the Louvre. But the movements and position of

\* Mr. R. J. Mackintosh, son of the historian and Recorder of Bombay, purchased this picture in 1856 at the sale of the poet Rogers, and exhibited it (No. 133) at Manchester. Wood, transferred to canvas. From the Orleans Collection, where it was bought by Mr. Willett, in 1792, for £150, then in the Hope and Rogers Collections. Size, m. 0·765 h. by 0·405. The transfer of this picture to canvas was not carried out without loss of colouring substances, and this mishap seems to have been partially remedied by glazings. The whole piece, on this account, looks as if it was feeble in light and shade. It has somewhat of an uniform reddish tone, and seems as if it might have been painted by Andrea da Salerno, which would not be the case if the patina had been preserved. The only Raphaelesque drawing which appears to have

any connection with the Rogers' Madonna is one in the Chatsworth Collection—a Virgin assisting the Infant Christ to walk. But here the figures are the reverse of those in the picture. But the Chatsworth drawing, 6½ in. h. by 5, is now in a state which leaves us in doubt of the authorship. Not so the original cartoon once in the Ceccomani house at Perugia, and, subsequently, in the hands of Messrs. Colnaghi (1843) and Cunningham in London, and sold at the Cunningham sale in 1849 to Capt. Stirling of Glentyan for £283. This cartoon was of the size of the picture, pinholed for use, and though injured and restored, still showed the true spirit of Raphael. Of copies of the picture, that of the Palazzo Borghese, at Rome, is hard and feeble. For others, see Passavant, ii. 121.



the figures are essentially different, the Virgin and Baptist being more frankly in profile in the picture than in the cartoon, the sleeping infant more fully turned towards the spectator. The characteristic varieties which distinguish the later composition are, the novel attire of the Madonna, the ruins in the distance to the left, and the Pantheon imagined as lying in a nook of the Tiber valley to the right. The composition, disposed in a round at Florence, is distributed with equal cleverness in a rectangle at the Louvre; the uniform glow of a summer's day changes to a bright gleam of light thrown strongly on figures detached with brilliant effect from the deep shadow of crumbling walls. The Virgin's dress at Florence is a close garment partly covered by a mantle falling from the head to the waist and limbs. At Rome a yellow veil escapes from a blue diadem encircling the brow and also holding the end of muslin cloth, which clings round the shoulder and falls on the arm; the red underdress is crossed on the bosom by a draped tunic gathered under the belt and stretching over the skirt. The "Virgin of the Diadem" again is related in subject to the "Madonna del Popolo," but that there the Babe rises from its sleep, whilst here it slumbers. Retracing his steps and reverting to a subject which he had painted once before, Raphael gives to his latest version of it greater richness, a grander form and regal accompaniments. Rome stamps its impress on his work, suggesting not only the ruins and landscape, sandalled feet, and monumental drapery, but nobler and more

ideal features and a more statuesque movement of the limbs in the Infant Saviour. The position of the child would indeed be quite natural but for a slight appearance of strain in the action of the near arm which is bent over the head and presupposes the study of some antique statue. The contrast between the motionless calm of Christ's face and the wondering smile of the Baptist on the other side is admirable. If the "Virgin of the Diadem" has any fault it is the want of warmth in the colouring which might justify the assumption that Penni had some share in the technical execution of the picture; the tone of the whole surface is colder than that of the "Garvagh Madonna." But this may be owing to abrasion and patching of the shadowed surfaces. The period in which the panel was painted may be guessed from the remarkable fact that the ruined arch in the landscape and the steps leading to it are enlivened with standing figures and a recumbent solitary, like the philosophers and Cynic in the "School of Athens."\*

\* Louvre. No. 363. Wood. 0·68 h. by 0·44. As early as 1620 this picture belonged to the La Vrillière Collection in Paris. It was in 1728 in that of Prince Carignan, where it remained till 1743. Later on it was purchased for Louis XV. (see the Louvre Catalogue of Mr. Fred. Villot, 1858). The parts most altered by abrasion in the picture are the Virgin's forehead and the red tunic below the waist.

A copy in the Sacristy of the Cathedral of Toledo is an enlarged

replica of the picture at the Louvre, better painted than that which came from the Orleans, Choiseul, and Agar, into the Bridgewater Collection in London.

Passavant (ii. 110) mentions another copy at Urbino.

The Pesaro inventory of the Urbino Collection contains the following entry which may relate to a lost cartoon for the Virgin of the Diadem: "Quadretto uno in carta supra tela d'una Madonna col Bambino dormiente, S. Giovanni e S. Gioseffe."

The Camera della Segnatura marks a period in the life of Raphael at Rome. The frescos of the Stanza dell' Eliodoro illustrate a second phase in the expansion of his art. The loss of the wall paintings commissioned by Julius II. for the decoration of the passage between the Vatican and the Belvedere is all the more to be regretted, because they might have thrown additional light on an obscure period in the master's practice. The rapid completion of these, and the simultaneous completion of the ceiling and two frescos in the Camera dell' Eliodoro would suffice to manifest the wonderful activity of Raphael. But the creation of the latter, and the Madonna di Foligno within the compass of fourteen months, would even now appear a gigantic effort. We may admit that the surprising power shown in this noble series of pictorial compositions was not displayed without a sacrifice of distinctive characteristics; but the change was so gradual that it presented no sudden or disagreeable contrast. Raphael, up to this time had mostly designed his pictures, and set his models, or made his studies, without help from disciples. The labour of assistants was all but concealed by his own. He now confined himself to a few studies, masterly in line and superior in vigour to any that preceded them; but the scratch sketch, as well as the technical handling, was entrusted more frequently than before to subordinates.

Rumohr has justly impugned the conduct of Leo X., who strained the natural powers, and frittered away the time, of a great artist in work more suited to

an architect than a painter.\* But Julius II., who allowed Raphael to accept commissions from the Chigi, Conti, and Altoviti, and meanwhile set no limits to his own demands, was hardly less responsible than his predecessor for the deviation of his favourite from his earlier habits. It must have been clear to both Pontiffs that, by overburdening Raphael, they were diminishing the value of his labours, but neither of the great Popes saw the effect of his eagerness. They cared but little, if they knew it, whether the drawings of the master were all his own or not. Neither of them dreamt that he was killing the painter by overwork, and hastening the period of his death. Raphael himself was not more provident than his patrons. His fellow painters might see that he was trusting more and more to his disciples as he proceeded. But what artist could they name whose career had not been marked by similar incidents? It was legitimate that he should wish to increase his fame by multiplicity and rapidity of production, and it was in human nature that he should desire an extension of that fame! Nor was it given to him to withstand the orders of absolute churchmen, whose will had been imposed even on Michaelangelo, the strongest character of the age of the revival.

It was inevitable that Raphael should accept every commission that was offered to him, inevitable that he should discharge some of his duties on his subordinates. The practical consequences are apparent in the

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\* Rumohr, *Forschungen*, ii. 123.

studies and sketches, as well as the handling of the frescos in the Camera dell' Eliodoro. Whilst the ceiling and the preliminaries of its adornment betray few traces of assisted labour, the wall frescos and the preparatory designs for them afford distinct evidence of divided responsibility. Amongst the Raphaels at Oxford, one represents the Eternal, attended by angels in a cloud of fire and smoke. God appearing to Moses in a burning bush was differently arranged in the Camera dell' Eliodoro; but there can be little doubt that the design was taken from one of Raphael's first thoughts by Giulio Romano, whilst Raphael himself drew the cartoon of the kneeling Moses at Naples.\* The drawing of the Eternal appearing before Noah, at Florence, would make a splendid picture on the general lines which Raphael worked into the ceiling of the second chamber; but the style of a Florentine imitating

\* *The Burning Bush*.—Oxford. No. 91. Pen and bistre. 11 in. h. by 16½. This drawing differs from the fresco. It represents the Eternal without drapery, attended by four angels, two of which are nude. In the fresco, all the figures are draped—viz.:—The Eternal and two angels, whilst seraphs' heads float amongst the flames. The drawing is very bold in handling, but not in Raphael's style, nor indeed executed with his knowledge of anatomy. But the conception is Raphael's, who doubtless furnished the first thought to Giulio Romano. On the back of

the sheet is a sketch of a Victory.

Naples Museum. Cartoon. 50 in. h. by 52½. Moses, in profile, to the right, kneels on the left leg, with his right hand on his face, as in the fresco. The paper is much worn, and patches of restoring disfigure the left hand, knee, and foot and ankle of the figure. The contours are in black chalk, the lights picked out with white. Farnese Collection.

A reduced copy of the "Moses" assigned to Raphael. Frame XXV. No. 6 in the Academy of Venice, is but a copy of the fresco at the Vatican.

Marcantonio is more clearly apparent than that of Raphael and his pupils.\* Marcantonio himself was capable of copying Noah's wife at the door of the ark as designed in a study ascribed to Raphael at the British Museum.† The angel arresting the hand of Abraham is clearly thrown upon paper by the pen of an assistant under Raphael's direction.‡ Some of the male and female models for the figures in the "Expulsion of Heliodorus" were taken from life by Raphael in his ablest manner, but the sketch of the whole composition in the Savigny Collection is apparently not his.§ With a rapid and experienced hand a clever draughtsman copied from nature a mitred Pope, carried in a chair, attended by officers of state. But the sketch of this subject at the Louvre is not that from which the Pope in the fresco of Heliodorus was

\* *The Eternal before Noah.*—Florence. Uffizi. No. 526. Group of the Eternal and four angels. Pen sketch. To the right Noah's wife and two children at the door of the ark. This drawing differs from the fresco in this, that instead of two angels it contains four. The rest is identical with the picture in the Camera, and like Marcantonio's print (Bartsch, No. 3). The execution is bold, but quite in the Florentine spirit, and with that peculiar angularity in the rendering of form which characterized Pontormo.

† British Museum. Pen and bistre on brown paper. From the Payne Knight Collection. Noah's wife with her two children, one on

her shoulder, the other at her side, as in the fresco or Marcantonio's print. The lines and hatchings are those of an engraver, who may be Marcantonio.

‡ *Abraham's Sacrifice.*—Oxford. No. 94. Pen drawing in bistre. 7½ in. h. by 8. This is a rapid and slight sketch with the head downwards and the body and legs in bent action. The slight mannered pen stroke points to the authorship of Giulio Romano.

§ *Expulsion of Heliodorus.*—Berlin. Savigny Collection (not seen). Rumohr and Passavant think this drawing genuine. Later critics are of a different opinion. See Rumohr (*Forschungen*, iii. 105; *Pass.* ii. 131).

derived. The contours of the heads of the two avenging angels in the picture were entrusted to Giulio Romano, and the pinholes in these fine cartoons, which are still at the Louvre, show that they served for the tracing of the subject on the wall.\*

\* Louvre. Salle des boites. No. 326. Pen and bistre sketch. M. 0·240 h. by 0·288. The Pope in *Sede Gestatoria* is preceded by a man carrying the cross. Six bearers support the chair. A mace-bearer is in the foreground to the right, next him two halberdiers. In rear of the Pope, whose head is in profile, with a bishop's mitre, a cardinal is also carried on a portable seat. This rapid and clever drawing is not the sketch from which the group in the "Expulsion of Heliodorus" is derived. It is too modern for Raphael. A variety of this drawing (not seen) is described in the Collection of W. Russell, Esq., in England.

R. Oxford. No. 10. Red chalk drawing. 4 in. h. by 6. Study of the head and ~~left~~ arm of the angel running in the centre of the foreground of the Heliodorus. It seems copied with great spirit from a model.

Oxford. No. 85. Black chalk drawing. 15½ in. h. by 10¾. The subject is the kneeling woman in the left foreground of the fresco of Heliodorus. In the upper right-hand corner of the sheet the head and right hand are studied apart. Below to the right likewise, a study of two feet. A copy of this is in the Uffizi at Florence. On the back of the sheet, at Oxford,

is a contemporary sketch in the same style, and also from a model of the woman in rear of the group of the Pope and his bearers. Her head, looking up in lost profile, is also repeated in the right-hand corner of the sheet. The spirit with which this study is drawn is only equalled by the grace with which the movement is conveyed. Nothing more masterly had yet come from Raphael's hand.

Louvre. No. 312. Chalk drawing. 0·268 h. by 0·329. Head of the avenging angel, ¾ to the right. Pricked for pouncing, patched and restored, but doubtless part of the cartoon of the Heliodorus fresco. By Giulio Romano. No. 313. Companion head. Angel in profile in the foreground. Similar state. Giulio Romano. Black and white chalk. 0·277 h. by 0·341.

Oxford. No. 86. Black chalk. 27 in. h. by 21. This is a fine bold drawing for the head of the horse. It reveals Raphael's study of the antique. Originally, Vasari tells us (viii. p. 28), in the house of F. Masini at Cesena, ~~the house~~.

Vienna. Albertina. Study of a soldier in profile, to the right raising his shield with his left arm. Red chalk. This sketch, which might be a first idea for some figure in the Heliodorus is not certainly to be ascribed to Raphael.

The transfer of important duties to assistants is more clearly seen in the relics that have come down to us of the preparatory pieces for the "Mass of Bolsena," the "Attila," and the "Deliverance of St. Peter." Of the first, three sketches are at Oxford, showing the lines reversed. One of them, better than the rest, is still too feeble to be attributed to Raphael. Of the second, we possess a small cartoon at the Louvre with the two apostles, Peter and Paul, appearing to Attila: a splendid composition, which looks as if Penni, Giovanni da Udine, and Marcantonio had all been at work under Raphael's eye. The third is illustrated by a drawing at Florence, in which the figures differ in important particulars from those in the fresco, but the execution seems inferior to that of the master. Similar phenomena will be revealed when we come to look at the "Battle of Constantine," which Raphael's pupils painted after their master's death.\*

\* *Miracle of Bolsena*.—Oxford. Nos. 87, 88, 89. Pen drawings in sepia, shaded with sepia and heightened with white. No. 87 is the only design we need stop at, 88 and 89 being replicas by inferior hands. The Pope here kneels to the left, with three attendants. The officiating priest at the opposite side of the altar is attended by two acolytes, and three others on the Pope's side, hold candles on the steps to the right; six figures form the audience. We shall presently see that this arrangement is not that which was carried out in the

fresco, though the general scheme of the drawing was preserved. It is not possible to give a name to the authors of these drawings, which all measure 10 in. h. by 16.

*The Attila*.—Louvre. No. 325. Pen drawing, washed with sepia, heightened with white, on vellum. 0.362 h. by 0.592. From the Vendramin Collection at Venice, 1530 (Anon. p. 82), Carlo Maratta Collection at Rome (Bellori, p. 69), and Jabach Collection in Paris. Sold 1671 to Louis XIV. The arrangement, which differs essentially from that of the fresco, is



The conclusion to which we necessarily come is this, Raphael remembered his own early training under Pinturicchio at Sienna. He gave rough sketches and studies of single figures to his disciples, who made working designs from them. He imagined

clearly by Raphael. The patient execution is that of one or more assistants. The action of all the figures is very powerful and telling. It recalls the cartoons of Michaelangelo and Lionardo at Florence, with reminiscences here and there of Signorelli's frescos at Orvieto. In the sky above the Pope angels appear in a bed of clouds. If the fresco in the Camera dell' Eliodoro had been executed on these lines it would have been more effective. The original plan suggested by Raphael, and consigned to his sketch, was sacrificed to the desire of Leo X. to appear in the foreground of the picture.

Oxford. No. 59. Pen drawing in bistre, 9½ in. h. by 8. Naked man stooping to the right with his right arm down, his left raised with a gesture of fear. To the left, the head, shoulders, and arm of a female. The figure of the man, reversed, is almost identical, except as regards the motion of one arm, with that in the Louvre drawing above described. It shows great boldness of line and a familiar knowledge of muscular development in nudes. It is Raphael's work at a period before the composition of the Attila, and seems to have been used by the draughtsman of the Louvre design. On the reverse of the sheet, three studies

of a standing left leg in red chalk from life.

*Windsor Palace.*—Two horsemen. Pens sketch, apparently copied freely from the fresco of Attila.

*Deliverance of St. Peter.*—Florence. Uffizi. No. 536. Pen drawing washed with umber and flake white, much injured. The angel, and St. Peter in prison, as well as St. Peter with the keys outside, and part of the angel that is obliterated, are not very different from the same figures in the fresco. But the guards in the prison vary. Outside, to the left, two guards with shields, shading their eyes with hand and huckler, two sleeping and one awake on the steps, are none of them in the fresco. The same observation applies to the soldier asleep on the steps to the right. Here again the idea and composition are so clever that Raphael alone can have created them. But the execution, perhaps owing to bad condition, is distinctly not Raphael's.

*Windsor.*—Black chalk drawing on blue paper of the guard as seen in the fresco, stooping and running to the left. But the figure is seen in reverse, and is a clever bit of nude, much akin to that of two soldiers cowering under their shields in the same collection.

the grouping and the action of the persons, singly or in masses : the first impression and distribution were invariably his. But, leaving the final setting to others, he reserved to himself the duty of overlooking and correcting such parts as he thought imperfect. By the application of this process he produced the distribution of the ceiling and walls, but the decoration of the whole was designed at one cast, and by a single mighty effort. In the ceiling his purpose was to represent scenes from the Genesis : "God's Grace extended to Noah," "Abraham's Sacrifice," "Jacob's Dream," and the "Burning Bush." Between these subjects and those of the wall an obvious connexion exists. "Jacob's Dream" prefigures the vision in the "Deliverance of Peter," above which it is placed. It would also have prefigured the "Vision of St. John the Evangelist," if originally intended for that spot. "Isaac rescued by the Angel" is a miraculous intervention like that in the "Mass of Bolsena." "God's Grace extended to Noah" is a manifestation to which that of "Peter and Paul before Attila" is related ; and "God's Promise of Deliverance from the Egyptians" is naturally followed by the "Expulsion of Heliodorus from the Temple." But before Raphael took these compositions in hand, the whole room had been filled with others by Piero della Francesca, Bramantino, and Baldassare Peruzzi ; and the impress which these creations might have left upon his mind was perhaps not entirely lost.

Simply adorned in comparison with the chamber of the Segnatura, the Camera dell' Eliodoro is not without

a charm peculiarly its own. The custom of decorating bare chambers with portable tapestry had made its way from the colder regions of the transalpine states to Italy. The legend of Heliodorus was illustrated in a set of arras, which Julius purchased when he was yet a cardinal.\* The Pope, it would seem, instructed Peruzzi to make a design, of which the principal parts should imitate arras pinned to the ceiling. The consequence was, that the figures, instead of appearing as if they were seen from below, were presented on the horizontal plane; and Raphael, who took Peruzzi's place, did not think fit to alter the system upon which he had worked.

The ceiling is fitted with fringes at two of the edges. Ribbed diagonals spring from a circular framing of oak leaves, inclosing the Pope's escutcheon. An allegory of Abundance and other subjects of a cognate character, alternate with bronze medallions and figures supporting ornaments in the sections at the corners. The borders, above the windows, contain the name and arms of Julius II., twice repeated, with angels as supporters; and, between these, bas-reliefs, ingeniously imitated, make a pretty display of Roman skirmishes, and illustrations of Friendship, Chastity, Wantonness, Baptism, Prayer, Law, Labour, Force, Childhood, Play, and Study. In this quaint medley of the scriptural and profane, Hercules appears as the embodiment of strength, Moses with the tables, as the incarnation of law. Scollop-shell framings worked

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\* Müntz's "Raphael," p. 276.

into the four triangles of the roof contained a cycle of scriptural subjects intended to imitate pictures on cloths fastened by nails to the ceiling. These, and a few patches at the corners, were all that Raphael renewed, the rest was left as Peruzzi designed it. But before he actually proceeded to clear even these spaces, we can fancy that Raphael looked attentively at the works of men who had left a name behind them in Tuscany. Where he purposed to introduce the "Vision of John the Evangelist" there stood a fresco by Piero della Francesca, whose "Vision of Constantine" still covered a wall in San Francesco of Arezzo. He was, perhaps, then unaware that he would have to substitute the "Deliverance of Peter from Prison" for the "Vision of Patmos." "But the coincidence of his treatment of that subject with the remarkable effect of light and shade in the 'Dream of Constantine' was perhaps more than accidental," and it may be that Piero had left such a subject on the walls of the Camera dell' Eliodoro.\* Other spaces, in which we now see the "Mass of Bolsena" and the "Attila," had also been filled by Bramantino, and the presence in these pictures of great Condottieri like Fortebraccio, Colonna, Duke of Salerno, Francesco Carmignola, Giovanni Vitellesco, Spinola, and Canneto, with Charles VII. of France, and Cardinal Bessarion, may show that the painter had orders to illustrate the victories of Eugene IV. over the patrician captains

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\* Sir Ch. Eastlake's Review of Passavant's Raphael, Quarterly Review, vol. lvi., No. cxxxi., p. 8.

of Rome, and the union of the Greek and Latin Churches at the councils of Ferrara and Florence.

Raphael, we may repeat, would naturally ponder over these relics of his illustrious precursors. The angel whom he represented descending to arrest the hand of Abraham might be due to the inspiration which he then received from Piero della Francesca; Bramantino furnished the likenesses which Raphael's pupils were set to copy. But whilst all this was proceeding, Raphael thought over the whole series of subjects with which he was deputed to adorn the room. His rough sketches and studies were confided to disciples who turned them into finished drawings; and with these in his hand, he passed the ordeal of the Pope's judgment. If all the drawings resembled that of the "Attila," they might well be sure of acceptance. If not, Raphael could alter and improve them; and this no doubt, was the course which he actually pursued.

By what mischance it happened that the ceiling of the Camera dell' Eliodoro lost the charm of colour which it originally possessed, history has but partially explained. The preparation of the ground was perhaps faulty; the result was a corrosion of tints unparalleled in any of Raphael's works.

Worn as they now appear, the subjects are still amongst the finest which the master ever composed. God appears to Noah; He comes, floating on the air within a few feet of the ground; three angels accompany and support his form. With one hand he points to invisible horizons, with the other to the earth; on

the ground in front, the bearded Noah kneels in fervent adoration. Ham nestles in his father's arms, with a sparkling expression of features, which indicates a transition from fear to security. Noah's wife, in the doorway of her husband's cabin, carries Japhet on her left shoulder, and gently urges the steps of Shem, who holds a turkey and looks proudly up at his mother. In this fine picture three passages of Genesis are combined: "Noah found grace in the eyes of the Lord; he begat three sons, and God said unto Noah, The end of all flesh is come before me, and behold I will destroy them with the earth."\* Raphael's art seems inspired by the genius of Buonarrotti, and from the majestic apparitions of the Creator at the Sixtine, he derived the strength to represent in his own fashion the might of the Eternal giving the promise to Noah. What a revolution in the master's conception since the first invention of God the Father in the Madonna of Sant' Antonio, or that of the First Person of the Trinity in the "Disputa!" How true it is that Raphael constantly renewed the bone and muscle of his artistic organization, as nature renews the parts of the human frame! What strength and majesty he gives to the figure of the Eternal, what grace to the children of Noah! How that beautiful figure of Ham clings to our memory, and revives, transfigured in the Madonna di Foligno.

In the "Sacrifice of Abraham," the altar stands in the middle of the foreground; Isaac, in bonds, crouches

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\* Genesis vi., verses 8, 10, and 13.

to the blow which his father is about to deal; Abraham's arm is stopped by an angel in flight; to the right a second angel darts downwards with the lamb in his hands. Classical studies hold divided sway in Raphael's mind with reminiscences of the Tuscans. The struggles of Ghiberti and Brunellesco in their competition for the gates of the Baptistery of Florence, the rivalry of Raphael himself with Fra Bartolommeo in the *Madonna del Baldacchino*, and admiration for the daring of Piero della Francesca, and Giotto are recalled to us in a forcible picture, which has all the economy, with some of the strained compactness, of a bas-relief. The kneeling Isaac bends like the stooping slave of Michaelangelo in the gallery of St. Petersburg.

"Jacob's Dream" is noticeable for a grandiose figure of the sleeper; two stones superposed form a pillow on which the patriarch rests; the vision of the Lord again reminds us of Michaelangelo; the face is modelled on that of Jupiter, though the features are not impassive, but watch and follow the motions of the angels who descend the steps obliquely to the ground on the right. When Raphael composed the same subject for the Loggie, he turned Jacob's head towards the ladder and imagined the angels stepping down to meet him. The change may have come from the criticism of contemporaries, who objected as many moderns have done, that the sleeper could not see the vision. But if Jacob's eyes are closed, it seems a matter of little moment whether his face and the creations of his fancy are made to converge. The

action in the fresco of the Camera is suited exactly to the place in which it is compressed. What really seems worthy of remark is the elegance, the beauty, the dress and noble movements of the winged messengers of heaven, which embody in a single picture all the qualities of Giotto, Masaccio, Angelico, and Sandro Botticelli.

In the fresco of the "Burning Bush," the Almighty appears in a swirl of flames, which conceals the lower part of his frame. Cherubs, with tongues of fire in the shape of wings, precede him. A seraph supports his arm on one side; a second flies with similar intent on the other;—a majestic picture of supernatural motion not without Pagan character. One might think it was Jove who advances, attended by Victory; but the outstretched hands, and the action of the frame and head fitly express the words of the Bible. Moses in shepherd's garb, rests in a kneeling attitude on his staff, and shades his eyes with his hand. "He hid his face, for he was afraid, and the Lord said: I am come to deliver my people out of the hand of the Egyptians."\* The contrast most consciously realized in this fine composition, is that of supernatural majesty in the features and accompaniments of the Eternal, and pastoral character in Moses. The same principles and spirit, the same influence of the classic and Michaelangelesque are embodied in this representation of a heavenly intervention, as in the Noah and Jacob. Yet nowhere is the stamp of Raphael's indi-

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\* Exodus iii., verses 2-8.



viduality or his original genius more fully impressed. Nowhere is the combination of grandeur with simplicity and grace more fully illustrated. The tendency of our age has been to reprove rather than admire these labours in the Camera dell' Eliodoro; but the cause of this strange perversion may be sought rather in the state to which the pictures have been reduced, than in the pictures themselves. In none of his earlier work, so far as can now be judged, was Raphael more bold in touch, more skilful in the treatment of fresco, more successful in the harmony of his colours. Nowhere is detail more completely subordinate to mass; rarely did he produce finer or more effective draperies, better or more correct contours, or modelling more subtle and true.\*

It was in keeping with the traditions of the Papacy, that Pontiffs who favoured the arts should exercise the talents of the painters they employed in illustrating the victories of the Church. But in old times they had been content to look with complacency on pictures in which the power and infallibility of the Pope were simply displayed. Julius II. improved on the practice of his predecessors, by selecting for his delectation such themes as might prefigure his own irresistible might, under the transparent cover of subjects derived from the legends of earlier ages. His ingenuity suggested to Raphael to embody the

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\* Carlo Maratta repainted all the grounds round the figures, and the raw contrast of new and old colour, and the hardness left on the edges, produce the effect to which taste now objects.

salvation of the temporal possessions of Rome in a story which should fitly represent victories won—or still to be won—by the arms of the reigning Pontiff. The legend of Heliodorus, as told in the Apocryphos, was an excellent medium for that purpose, and Raphael kneaded it into a picture in which every line conveys the substance and sense of the writer.

The temple of Jerusalem is represented as a basilica in the shape of a Greek cross. The high priest, Onias, kneels in state at the altar, praying for the downfall of his enemies. The golden candlesticks in front, cast a mild light on the priests of Aaron who stand behind him. Nearer the foreground, yet still within the presbytery, two elders rest against the plinth of a column, sternly communing with each other; whilst a curious spectator clings to the shaft of the pillar, and a venturous youth ascends to the same post of vantage. In the aisles and galleries a decent congregation attends. But in advance of the steps of the altar startling events have happened; to the left the women of Jerusalem are sitting on the floor, and see the guards removing the temple treasure; encumbered with their loads, they are easily stopped by a supernatural power. Heliodorus has fallen to the ground on the right; he is dressed *cap à pie*, his left hand is on the ground, a vase with gold pieces on the floor beside him; he tries to rise with the help of the lance in his grasp; two guards near him stand or kneel in his defence; one draws his sword, but too late. A rider on a powerful horse comes on with his body encased in golden armour, and a

powerful mace in his right hand. The quickness of his motion has overthrown the chamberlain of Seleucus, the horse rears on its hind legs, and strikes the prostrate chief on arm and breast. Two heavenly messengers run on at the rider's side, they are wafted onwards by a supernatural motion, their limbs, in stride, are spurning the pavement; the scourges in their hands threaten all before them. In a second, it seems the robber will be lost and his guard taken prisoners. A kneeling woman on the left side of the space, turns to contemplate the wonder; two companions near her with a bevy of children, look alternately at the miracle, and the praying Onias in the distance; three girls point with startling energy and joy at the defeat of the plunderers. And in front of them all, there issues from the transept on the left the stern figure of Julius in his chair, borne by four men, and accompanied by a secretary; and the Pope's look seems to say, So shall perish the enemies of the universal Church! It is a remarkable proof of the painter's genius that we are not struck by the anachronism of thus introducing a living Pope amidst the people of such distant generations. We note without a thought of the strangeness of the thing, that Marcantonio Raimondi is the Pope's bearer on one side, and Giulio Romano the bearer on the other.\* Beyond all measure, admirable is the distribution of

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\* The annotators of Vasari (x. 94) have pointed out the likeness of the second bearer in the Helio-

dorus to Giulio's portrait in the Giuntina.

the figures in the form of a crescent, the centre vacant, as if to indicate the rapid passage of the avenging minister of God, the *mêlée* to the right; the huddled women, and stern Pope with his suite to the left, the praying high-priest and his attendant in the gloom about the altar fitfully lighted by the lamps, and the still deeper gloom of the aisles on each side of the sanctuary. In the grand distribution of the groups into which the composition is divided, the splendid action of the Pope, and the conscious repose of his suite, and the broken rest of the females at his feet; we trace the painter's effort to obtain a striking contrast to the turmoil about the prostrate Heliodorus. The attitudes and incidents, the life, strength, and diversity of character in the actors, are all worthy of praise. We feel convinced that the master, with wonted perspicacity, consulted the episodes and portraits which Domenico Ghirlandaio so ably represented in Santa Maria Novella of Florence, and controlled his reminiscences by constant reference to the antiques to which Ghirlandaio originally appealed. But the sources to which he was principally indebted were not there alone. It is an old and familiar charge against Raphael, that he copied Michaelangelo; but Michaelangelo was never further from his mind than at this moment; and the true spring of his inspiration was the bas-relief of Meleager at the Capitol, or the wounded captain in — Lionardo's "Battle of Anghiari." If we reverse the Meleager, we find the recumbent body and head and the left leg of Heliodorus. The lance with which

the Greek hunter supports his sinking form is represented by the spear to which Heliodorus trusts in his attempt to rise. Raphael having reversed the body, was bound to change the position of the arms. But here he came into direct imitation of Lionardo, and if we except slight alterations in the bend of the right leg, or the right wrist, and eliminate the right arm, Heliodorus is a counterpart of Da Vinci's wounded captain.

The presence of Foliari, an officer of the papal court, in front of the Pope's chair is indicated by a scroll in that officer's hand. A few letters on a sheet of paper serve to give an obscure Italian undeserved immortality.\*

But if Raphael exerted all the efforts of his genius

\* *The Heliodorus*.—The state of the fresco is bad. It is dark and dull in many parts, especially in the groups to the right. Heliodorus himself is much injured. A chimney, of which the flue ran up behind the wall on which the picture was painted, produced a set of dangerous cracks which run up from the basement near the chimney to the Gallery near Onias, and cut in two the leg of the first messenger. A branch of the fissure injures the arm of the same figure, and injures the head of the second messenger as well as the mace of the rider. The damage has been partly made good by clamps. But the flying drapery of the foreground angel, and the shadows of his left arm, and the calf of the rider's leg, as well as the near hind leg of

the horse, are repainted. In the group of women to the left the pink dress of the most distant one is retouched. The same accidents have occurred in the case of the mother with her children, in which the outlines and high lights have been run over. The white sleeve and blue skirt of the woman with her back to the spectator are abraded. It has been considered likely that the chief damage done to the fresco dates from the year 1527, when the Spaniards quartered themselves in the Camera after the sack of the Vatican. The fires which they made in the grate beneath the Heliodorus were the chief cause of the cracks and scalings which Carlo Maratta was afterwards deputed to restore.

to arrange and distribute a composition worthy of the highest commendation, the methods which he took to transfer the cartoons to the wall were less worthy of his fame. His vigilant superintendence failed effectually to conceal the obtrusive labour of assistants; it disdained to obliterate the metallic execution of Giulio Romano on the one hand, or the gaudy handling of Giovanni da Udine on the other. We shall assign to the first the right side of the picture, with the fall of Heliodorus before the messengers of Heaven, and the figures of the Pope and his suite in the opposite foreground; to the second the groups of women at the feet of Julius II. The forms of Giulio Romano are easily recognized by their sharpness of outline, their ruddy tone, and the contrasts of red lights with black or opaque darks. The weight and muscular expansion of the human and equine shape are seldom accompanied with any of the grace of Raphael's own creations. On the other hand, the bright scales of pigments peculiar to a native of the Venetian provinces is too evidently accompanied by immoderate use of gay tinting, whilst neglected outline and detail are hardly compensated by glow and velvet softness of surface. It has been said indeed that the qualities of this fresco, which consist in a certain richness and brightness peculiar to some of its parts, are due to a tendency in which Raphael indulged to imitate the colour and manner of Giorgione.\* But we feel inclined to contest this statement, whilst we

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\* Passavant, *Raphael*, u. s., i. p. 160; ii. p. 131.


accuse the forgetfulness of historians who ought to have traced the contact of two eminent artists in the Camera dell' Eliodoro. Truth in fact compels us to affirm that the Venetian element in the fall of Heliodorus, far from being in any sense Raphaelic, was imported into the picture by a journeyman who — was probably Giovanni da Udine. But Raphael was not unmindful of the contrast which the employment of two such men as Giulio and Giovanni must needs produce ; and the track of his brush may be seen in various places, harmonizing and bringing into focus the discordances of his pupils.

Raphael may have been induced to place more than usual reliance on the help of his disciples in the fresco of Heliodorus by the impatience of the Pontiff to witness the completion of a room in which he desired to spend some hours of his time. Julius probably pressed the painter the more as he was anxious for his own health, and felt the attacks of the disease to which he was so soon to succumb. We may presume that Raphael was moved by the pressure to assume the difficult task of painting the "Mass of Bolsena" almost entirely with his own hand. The probability of this circumstance lies to some extent in the fact that the "Mass of Bolsena" is not merely a magnificent composition, but a remarkable manifestation of the master's own power. Superior to any other work in — the Camera for the perfection of its tone, it equally excels in the purity and finish of its modelling, and the subtlety with which the life and variety of nature in each of the persons present are brought before us.

The pencils of Raphael travelled from beginning to end over all the groups except that of the females on the left side of the picture to which he probably gave but superficial touches. The spirit of Ghirlandaio is that upon which the artist exclusively relied. He divested himself entirely of the reminiscences of the Sixtine Chapel to cultivate anew the memories of his stay at Florence, and so completely did he imbibe the dignity and grandeur of his great Tuscan precursor that the likeness of the Pope and his Cardinals, and not less those of the bearers who kneel in waiting near the steps of the altar, are but a nobler manifestation of the art which meets us in the portrait groups of Domenico Ghirlandaio. It may be scarcely necessary to add that Raphael's work surpasses that of Ghirlandaio by all the distance which separates a craftsman of the 16th, from one of the 15th century. He displays a breadth of treatment, a massive distribution of light and shade for which the only parallel in a previous age can be found in Masaccio. He adds to the qualities of the earlier Tuscans a perfect execution and rendering of form, and a balance of bright light and forcible shadow beyond measure telling. Equally admirable is the harmony of full and transparent colour, and the atmosphere that tempers in degrees every inch of the space in which the people move. Nothing more pleasing than the scheme of tints arranged with such skill that the principal figures are thrown into light on the dark face of a screen which shelters the ministrants, whilst those who stand



or kneel in advance of the steps leading to the altar are picked out alternately in light or in dark on a neutral surface of stone.



A legend of the 13th century tells of the miraculous appearance of the blood of Christ in the host before an unbelieving priest at the altar of Santa Cristina at Bolsena. The Pontiff who then occupied the chair of St. Peter was Urban IV., and Julius, substituted his own person for that of Urban. In the first planning of the composition, as preserved in a drawing at Oxford, the scene is laid in the centre of a choir, to which an ascent is established by means of a winding staircase. The form is given by the arched space round the window of the room; the Pope prays on a landing in the steps, and part of the suite and congregation fill the lower ground. The fresco was not carried out in this shape, the altar stands in front of a screen at the entrance of a nave of which the lines recede in perspective; curious spectators witness the miracle from the parapet of the screen. Julius, who probably objected to the place originally assigned to him, now rests on the platform on a level with the priest and his acolytes. The miracle is shown by a cross impressed on the wafer of the host and drops of blood that trickle from it; and the face of the priest, though calm, looks contrite and yielding from conviction. The working of the wonder increases in force as it acts on the more distant spectators. Behind the ministering clerk, his assistant kneels with astonishment expressed in his face and the rapid movement of his right hand. The taper-bearers

in rear press forward with eager glances, one of the men on the screen points out the blood to his companion; an excited congregation to the left gives even stronger vent to its feelings, and a woman has risen from amongst her seated companions below to exhibit her ecstasy. The energy of these actors is finely contrasted with the calm demeanour of the mothers resting on the foreground who attend to their children, and seem scarcely conscious of the incident before them; the Pope, to the right kneels fronting the ministering priest with his elbows on the Papal stool. Older than we last saw him in the overthrow of Heliodorus, his mien is severe and full of grandeur, the bone and muscle of his face indicate power and will, and he looks like a grand old lion, conscious of his might which no one dare gainsay. Two cardinals and two prelates on their feet behind him are masterpieces of portraiture, the oldest is Raphael Riario, the president by virtue of his age and rank of the Sacred College.\* The composition receives its final complement in the bearers on the right foreground, whose rich livery and arms and ordinary features are marked by a combination of measured obedience and curious surprise powerfully rendered by the genius of Raphael. It was to the group of women on the left of the picture that the master least gave thought. We trace in it the labours of the same assistant who painted the females in the Heliodorus, and there too the gay colours and neglected lines seem to betray the

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\* Vas. viii. p. 25. De Grassis. Diarium, MS. ap. 1512.

inferior, yet not unpleasant art of Giovanni da Udine.\*

Two tablets on the soffit of the window beneath the "Mass of Bolsena," contain the words in which Raphael declares that the fresco was uncovered by the 1st of November, 1512.† Whether he then proceeded to paint the "Attila," or husbanded his strength for work of another kind, there is little means of judging; but a pause in the labours of the Vatican would be natural at such a season, and the orders which the Pope allowed Raphael to take from officers of the court would amply suffice to fill the measure of the time he could spare.

Raphael had for a year or more been busy with the composition of the Madonna di Foligno, an altar-piece of the largest size which was to decorate the church of Santa Maria in Araceli. Julius had given him leave to paint the picture for his chamberlain Sigismondo Conti, and Conti had had leisure to sit for his portrait as a votary of the Madonna.‡ But when the prelate died, on the 23rd of February 1512, § Raphael had probably not completed the whole of the

\* This fresco is not free from retouching, of which there are strong marks in the left-hand groups, especially of women seated on the ground. But there are similar marks in the officiating priest, the two men looking over the screen, and the architecture above them.

† JULIUS II.  
LIGVR. PONT.  
MAX.

ANN. CHRIST.  
MDXII.

PONTIFICAT. SVI VIIII.

‡ We assume this to be so because the portrait of Conti is evidently taken from life.

§ Fea (C.), Nuova Descrizione, Roma, 1819, p. 72. Also Fea, Notizie, *u. s.* p. 15; Vasari, viii. p. 23; and Comolli's Notes to the Anonymous Life of Raphael, fol. Roma, 1791, p. 44.

groups of which the altarpiece was composed, and the heirs of the chamberlain would obviously press for the delivery of a masterpiece which flattered their pride as coming from the hands of the greatest of modern craftsmen.

We saw the necessities which forced Raphael to employ Giulio Romano and Giovanni da Udine at the Camera dell' Eliodoro. These necessities were obviously enhanced by the claims of patrons perhaps more clamorous and exacting than the Pope himself. Raphael was therefore obliged to keep journeymen in the painting-room which Bramante had built for him at Rome, and one or more of these was detached to help him in the "Madonna di Foligno."

Conti was a churchman for whom Raphael would naturally like to paint a picture. Giovanni Santi had mentioned him with honour in the dedication of his rhymed chronicle to Guidubaldo of Urbino.\* It was the prelate's wish to commemorate his escape from a meteor or the dangers of a bombardment during the siege of Foligno, and he attributed his deliverance to the direct intervention of heaven. His commission to Raphael was to form a composition in which he should be represented under the patronage of saints before Mary. The prelate accordingly appears in the foreground of a landscape, kneeling with his hands joined in prayer, whilst the shell or the bolt from which he was saved is running its course in the sky. The red mantle and cape with rich linings of fur, which cover

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\* See the dedication in Gaye's *Carteggio*, i. p. 349.

his shoulders, are slit at the side to allow of the passage of his arms. The sleeves of his dress are brown. With an air of the deepest devotion the worn and bony face is directed in profile to heaven, whilst Jerom, accompanied by his lion, lays his hand on the churchman's head and makes the usual gesture of introduction. But the gesture is accompanied by a look of intense recommendation from eyes deeply set under bushy brows; and grand ecclesiastical character is given to the whole impersonation by a full beard that makes up by its abundance, for the paucity of the straggling hairs on the scalp. The vision to which Conti and his patron saint look up is that of the Virgin in a circle of golden light surrounded by a wreath of cherubs and angels which swarm in gleeful action and partly support the clouds on which she rests. Her shape, ingeniously cushioned on a mist of which the rolling masses support her left foot, seems poised in a natural chair of the utmost solidity. Her right leg, raised on a projection of the cloud, forms the seat of the Infant Christ; a mantle encircles her head and sweeps round her shape, exposing the throat and bust, and giving free play to the hands, with one of which she presses the infant's shoulder, whilst the other grasps the muslin sash bound about the child's waist. In spite of this support Christ bends one arm across his breast and throws his left over the Virgin's hand, to clutch with all ten fingers at the folds of his mother's mantle. His left foot catches the ground of mist with its toes by a perpendicular thrust, whilst the right gracefully

bends as it rests on the Virgin's knee. A pleasing inclination of the head over the shoulder allows a natural view of the prelate below. But near the kneeling Conti a winged boy is standing with both hands supporting a tablet, and this charming genius connects the groups in the sky and right foreground with that on the left, of St. Francis in ecstasy, and John the Baptist as the Precursor. The boy's attitude and his perfect repose, as he throws the whole of his weight on one leg and lightly moves on the other, create an impression as if he had just come down from one of the ceilings of the Camera della Segnatura. St. Francis, in frock and cowl, has dropped to his knees and shows the stigma, a small cross is firmly grasped in his left, and he looks up with a longing glance at the Virgin, whilst the Baptist, pressing the reed cross to his frame, appears erect, in his tunic of skins, and points in warning to the vision in the sky.

Raphael evidently painted the Virgin and Child about the time when he composed the ceiling of the Chamber of Heliodorus. The form and movement of the Saviour faithfully retrace the action of the Infant Christ in Michaelangelo's round at Florence. But they are also those of Ham in the "Promise of the Lord to Noah." Conti, who probably sat immediately afterwards, is realised with the same dexterity and dignity as the Cardinals in the "Mass of Bolsena." The grandeur and fulness of the head, frame, and limbs of the angel with the tablet, the skill with which his flesh is modelled in marrowy and brilliant

colours, the subtle way in which broad masses of shadow are balanced with light, display the painter's power in its best development. Feebler treatment marks the figures of the Baptist and friar, whilst the landscape, though bright and powerful in tone, exhibits the touch and saturated atmosphere which distinguish the pictures of the Ferrarese. It is not doubtful that Raphael, here, was assisted by clever subordinates; and the presumption is that he was helped by an artist of the school of Costa. Ferrara was the birth-place of Dosso Dossi and his brother Battista, and both, as we learn from undisputed sources, were at different periods in Raphael's service. In a celebrated dialogue written by Lodovico Dolce in the opening years of the 16th century, Aretino is made to say that "one of the Dossi learnt his art from Raphael at Rome, and another from Titian at Venice."\* But Paulucci, the Ferrarese envoy at the Vatican, in a letter dispatched to Alphonzo of Este, in January 1520, retails the gossip of Raphael's dwelling from the mouth of Battista Dossi, and Raphael himself in conversation with the envoy a few weeks later, declares that he has been in correspondence with Dosso, who thus appears to have been his intimate friend.† There is every reason to believe that the two brothers were successively employed by the great master of Urbino,

\* Lodovico Dolce, *Dialogo della Pittura*, Venice, 1557. Reprint of Milan, 12mo, 1863, p. 7.

† Campori, *Notizie Inedite di Raffaello d' Urbino*, 4to, Modena, 1863, pp. 29, 30. Barruffaldi, in

his *Life of Dosso*, says that artist was six years at Rome. (*Vite de' Pittori Ferr. i. p. 251.*) Lomazzo (*Trattato, u.s., 474*) mentions Dosso specially for his skill in landscapes "with thunderbolts and rainbows."

and the landscape of wooded hills, with the city nestling amongst them in the background of the "Madonna di Foligno" is so clearly in the style of Dosso, as to make his presence at the time in Raphael's painting-room almost a certainty.\* Whether the group of St. Francis and the Baptist is by the same artist as the landscape, it would be hard to say, but it is certainly not in the pure style of Raphael himself. The Virgin, the angel, Conti, and St. Jerom, are treated with all the breadth and grandeur to which Raphael rose in the ceiling of the Camera dell' Eliodoro, and all are distinguished by careful modelling and finely moulded form, finished outline, monumental drapery, and harmonious glow of colours. Not even the reminiscence of the Florentine in the affected grace of the Virgin's action and her resigned glance at the Infant Christ, can weaken this impression. The poor drawing and handling of the remaining figures, the dislocated shoulder and vacant gaze of the Baptist, and the coarse type of the friar's face, unmistakeably point to the helping hand of a journeyman. Vasari, who saw the picture on the high altar of Araceli, finds no words sufficient to express his admiration.† On a

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\* The presence of Dosso in Mantua early in 1512 is proved by a payment of 30 ducats for painting executed for the Gonzagas (Darco, *Delle Arti e degli Artefici di Mantua*, folio, Mant. 1857, vol. ii., p. 79). He reappears at Ferrara in 1520, having probably spent

most of his time between 1512 and that date at Rome, Campori, *u. s.*, *Notizie*. Let us note the two shepherds with their flocks and a man on horseback, indicated on the slope in front of the town.

† Vas. viii. pp. 23, 24.



sunny day in the gallery of the Vatican, its beauties are very manifest. The loveliness of the boy on the foreground is enhanced by the bright colours of the distance which glitters under the shining sun and the light greys of clouds in which a rainbow is reflected. It was, perhaps, because of the knowledge that Dosso had assisted Raphael in the production of the altarpiece, that Francis and Alfonso IV. of Ferrara made repeated though vain efforts to purchase it.\*

\* *Vatican Museum. No. XVII.* Wood transferred to canvas. m. 3·2 h. by 1·94, a note to Comolli's Raphael (*u. s.* p. 44), informs us that it was removed by Sister Anna Conti, the prelate's niece, to the church of Sant' Anna at Foligno, in 1565. Taken to Paris in 1797, it was transferred to canvas, and those who performed that operation report that the hand of St. Jerom was outlined twice in different movements, and the head of St. Francis, when laid bare at the back, was drawn with a different line and in colours of a different impast, over the original contour of Raphael, proving the accuracy of the remarks made in the text. The panel, when removed, was rotten and worm-eaten, a long crack ran down from the centre of the upper arching to the foot of the Saviour, and the colour was blistered throughout, or had actually scaled away. Old restoring had penetrated the cracks in various places. (See the report of the painters and chemists, Vincent and Taunay, and Guyton and Ber-

thollet, in the Appendix to Pass. Raphael, ii. pp. 622-5, and Boucher-Desnoyer in the Paris ed. of Quatremère de Quincy's Raphael, 1853, p. 92.) The effect of time and restoring has been that the colours are out of focus in parts. The blue and red of the Virgin's dress are altered and renewed, the arm and skin of the Baptist, bits of the blue dress of St. Jerome, the red and brown gown of Conti, the yellow halo, and parts of the Infant Christ. The unsuccessful attempt of the Ferrarese court to obtain the picture is reported at length in Campori's *Not. Ined. u. s.* p. 37.

Raphael's habit of searching his portfolio for old sketches to compose new pictures, is illustrated in the figure of the Infant Christ, which occurs reversed in a drawing of the early Roman period at Lille. The great repute in which his picture was held seems reflected in the copper-plates of Marcantonio and his followers.

Lille Museum. No. 730. Silver point. 0·120 h. by 0·061. In the

During the progress of this great and interesting work Raphael gave a languid and divided attention to minor pieces which he probably dispensed to friends on the clear understanding that they were not altogether executed by himself. The pictures which he drew from this store were the "Holy Family *del divino Amore*" at Naples, and the "Madonna dell' Impannata" in the Pitti Palace at Florence. The person to whom Raphael consigned the first was Lionello da Carpi of Meldola, a kinsman of Alberto Pio, whose versatile genius alternately served Maximilian of Austria, Louis XII., and Francis the First of France. Lodovico Pio his relative, was one of the courtiers who figured in the "Cortigiano" of Baldassare Castiglione, his son Ridolfo Pio became a cardinal and patron to Baldassare Peruzzi, and, in his father's lifetime, acquired the property of Raphael's "Madonna" which Vasari saw in his palace at Rome. It was owing to the vicissitudes so common to Italian

centre of the sheet a group of the Virgin and Child, above it, to the right, a study of a child on its mother's lap. To the left, the child alone as it appears reversed in the Madonna di Foligno. A study of the Virgin and Child, belonging to Henry Vaughan, Esq., and probably identical with that in the Collection of the King of Holland, sold in 1850 (*Pasa. ii. p. 538*), is drawn in chalk on blue paper, 15½ in. high by 10½, and seems a copy from Marcantonio's print.

In Marcantonio's print the Vir-

gin is in the spirit, but not in the exact attitude of the Madonna di Foligno. She holds the Infant Christ standing at her right side on the clouds, whilst four angels play about her feet. (*Bartsch, No. 47.*)

The same print reversed (unique) in the Academy of Düsseldorf, has been erroneously attributed to Raphael himself, who is thus introduced without warrant into the guild of engravers. (See *Andreas Müller's Notices of the Print at Düsseldorf.*)

dynasts whose sons entered the church, that the Cardinal's treasures were dispersed by his heirs at the close of the 16th century, and the "Madonna del divino Amore" with the cartoon from which it was taken, was bought at auction by Cardinal Alexander Farnese, who left it, in 1624, to his relatives at Parma.\*

The key-note to the Naples Raphael, is that which an impressionable people has appropriately called divine love. The Virgin adores the Son who sits astride of her knee. She adores him with joined hands. But besides the adoration there is the mother's fondness, expressed in the eyes and the bend of the head. St. Elizabeth at the Virgin's side, assists the Saviour to lean across her lap, her affectionate look is intensified by the action of her right hand, which helps the Redeemer to bless the young Baptist. Bending forward eagerly, Christ looks cheerfully at St. John, who rests on one knee and sends a loving glance at him, whilst the humility of his inclination is brought out by the arm reverently laid on the breast and the hand holding the reed cross. Joseph in his orange tunic comes through a distant portico to the left into the classic ruin where the family reposes. It is easy to imagine what Raphael would have formed out of these materials had he kneaded them into shape with his own hands.

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\* Vas. viii. pp. 30, 226. Cam-  
pori, Raccolta di Cataloghi, pp.  
57, 61, 142, 214, 259. The suc-  
cession of the Parmese princes to

the throne of Naples, naturally  
secured the treasures of their gal-  
leries to the Neapolitan State.

But having created the first thought and left the design to be realised by his disciple, he gave but half life to a beautiful composition into which Giulio Romano, who represented him, threw some inevitable conventionalism and coarseness of colour. One of the tests by which we assign a chronological place to this picture is the likeness of some of its parts to the "Madonna di Casa d' Alba," particularly the outstretched leg with the sandalled foot, a limb of such exaggerated length, that the picture has sometimes been called "*della Coscia lunga*."

\* Naples. Saloon of Raphael. No. 20. Wood. 5 palmi, 3·0 h. by 4 p. 3·0. Vasari praises the miraculous colour and surprising beauty of this picture, but he describes it incorrectly, and seems hardly to have seen it (viii. p. 30). The composition is good. The Virgin's figure, short from head to waist, and long from the waist to the feet, would be more pleasing but for the poor drawing of the face, disfigured by want of jaw and a small pointed chin. The treatment is sweeping and a little coarse. The shadows, dark, leaden, and cold, with a tinge as of wine lees, the lights, ruddy. The pigments used are substantial, strongly impregnated with vehicle, and so thick that they have fallen into crevices. The execution is that of Giulio Romano. The ground of ruin is dark and cold.

The cartoon, which came with the picture into the Naples Gallery, is still like a work of Giulio, though injured in many ways, and

altered by retouching. It has no pinholes.

Another fragment of a cartoon of this "Madonna del divino Amore," belonging to Mr. William Russell, was exhibited at the Grosvenor Gallery, in 1878 (not seen).

Vasari notes (ix. p. 93) that the Virgin of Lionello da Carpi was copied by Innocenzo da Imola, at Bologna. Margaret Gonzaga, third wife of Alphonzo II., of Ferrara, hearing (1584) that there was a copy of the Madonna for sale in the house of Cavalier Fiordibello, at Modena, bought it (Campori, *Notiz. Ined., u. s.*, p. 34), and this possibly is the example now in Russia, viz. :—

*Petersburg. Hermitage.* No. 42. Wood transferred to canvas. 1·38 h. by 1·17. From the Quirinal palace, and Malmaison Collection. This picture is a copy made by a disciple or imitator of the manner of Raphael.

Other copies are the following :  
*Rome. Palazzo Borghese.* No. 24.

The "Madonna dell' Impannata" was taken out of Raphael's painting-room by Bindo Altoviti, a Florentine banker, whose wealth was occasionally diverted to the purchase of works of art. Without the means or the influence of the Chigi, Bindo was no bad representative of the class to which he belonged. The foundation of his fortune had been laid by his father Antonio who left him a palace on the right bank of the Tiber, facing the river near the bridge of St. Angelo. A few yards of street and the length of the bridge separated the banker's house from that of Raphael. The taste which he acquired in his visits to the most amiable of artists, possibly led him to think more seriously of pictorial decorations than he would otherwise have done. But Raphael's brush was not always to be had for the asking, and Bindo was content to take the "Impannata" and sit for his

Canvas. A cold but careful imitation, the best part of which is the Infant Christ. Alnwick. From the Cammuccini Collection at Rome. A good copy, either by Giulio Romano himself or one of his pupils. *Liverpool. Royal Institution.* No. 79. Assigned to Innocenzo da Imola (4 ft. 7 h. by 3 ft. 6). Feeble. *Dublin. National Gallery.* No. 40. Canvas. 4 ft. 7 h. by 3 ft. 6½. Supposed to be a copy by Giulio Romano. Purchased at Rome in 1856. Very heavy in the shadows. By an imitator of Giulio. *Belluno.* Small canvas. From a Venetian monastery, then in the Marini Palace at Venice, the Collection of Count

Fistulario of Udine, and finally in the possession of Signor Antonio Darin of Pelos in Cadore. Much injured, by a painter of Friuli of the beginning of the 17th century. Here the movement of St. Elizabeth is different from that in the original at Naples, and her head-gear is not the same. On one side of the picture is a palm-tree in a landscape. The composition is the same as that of Marcantonio's print minus the St. Joseph, and the whole picture seems taken from the print. *Caldonazzo, near Trent, ch.* of a good copy bought at Rome, and presented by Canon Trapp. For other examples, see *Pass. ii. p. 122-3.*

portrait, and trust for the rest to Peruzzi, Salviati, and Vasari. In the days of the Aretine biographer, the picturesque palazzo was gay with painted ornaments and treasures which would be priceless in our time; for instance, two cartoons of Michaelangelo for the Sixtine ceiling.\*

The "Madonna dell' Impannata" was composed and put together from Raphael's design, of which there is a beautiful fragment in the Queen's collection at Windsor.† But he confided the execution to two of his disciples, whose discordant handling he tried to harmonize by decisive touches of his own. Every part of the picture reveals the master's intention to convey the idea of the humble descent of the family of Joseph. The royal splendour of the "Virgin of the Diadem" is exchanged for the simpler garb of lowly people. The scene is laid in a cottage, with a shuttered window, composed of sashes glazed with round panes in leaden framings faced by a linen blind. A green curtain behind the principal group conceals the bed. Mary's

\* Vaa. xii. 55, 272. Fea, Notizie, p. 19; Vas. i. 41. See also Cellini's Autobiography, Florentine ed. 1852, p. 433. Gregorovius, u. a., viii. p. 279.

† Windsor. Royal Collection. Silver-point and pen and umber, washed with white on grey paper. 8½ in. h. by 5½. The Virgin and St. Elizabeth are finished. The child and the female are only outlined, the latter differently from the corresponding figure in the

picture, e.g., standing, and her face seen at ¾ to the right. The Baptist is not in the sketch. St. Anne's hand points at or touches the Infant's body, which, in the picture, is the action of the female saint in rear.

With this drawing the author of the Windsor Catalogue, folio, Murray, 1876, p. 81, registers a silver-point study for the Infant Christ in the Collection of Count Conestabile at Perugia (not seen).

face is beautiful and affectionately grave. Her garments are plain, though still in the traditional colours. The draped red tunic, appearing at the waist and bosom, is lost at the arms and shoulders under the blue cloth which covers the head and mantles the shape. St. Elizabeth, on one knee, appears in a leaden-grey dress covered by a white shawl that falls from her head. With a tender movement she returns the Infant Christ to his mother, and still supports him on her right arm whilst the Virgin takes his foot in her left. Looking up with a smile on her aged profile, St. Elizabeth seems pleased at the cheerfulness of the boy, who turns as he clings to the neck and bosom of Mary to laugh at the touch of a finger from a young female who stoops over him. On a leopard skin at the opposite side of the room the boy Baptist sits, with the reed cross in his hand, and points to the child as he glances at the spectator. The boyhood of Christ required that his mother should be represented as a matron. St. John is depicted on the verge of adolescence, St. Elizabeth is in profile, with the sharp features, the dress and the look which alternately meet us in the "Canigiani Madonna," the "Wife of Noah" at the Vatican, and the "Sibyls" of the Pace. The type runs through a series of pictures like a fragment of melody breaking out here and there in the measures of a symphony. The early ideal of youth and innocence is exchanged for a riper and more realistic treatment; yet, with this surrender, none of the feeling peculiar to Raphael is lost. Nothing, in fact, was omitted except the master's own

handling, to which that of his disciples was substituted. The coarse nature of Giulio Romano was allowed to vulgarize the nobler conception of shape and limb which characterized his master. His unrefined palet brought forth no Raphaeleic bloom in the flesh, or draperies of the boys and of Mary. Parts of the St. Elizabeth and the female behind her, which are by a feebler hand than even that of Giulio, required Raphael's touch to bring the pigments of less gifted men into harmony.\* But the capital point which

\* Florence. Pitti. No. 94. Wood. 2 br. 13 soldi h. by 2·2 or m. 1·55 h. by 1·23. This picture came very early into the Collection of the Grand Duke Cosimo of Tuscany, who caused it to be placed on the altar of the chapel called della Stanze Nuove in his palace at Florence (Vas. i. p. 45 ; and viii. p. 33), it is catalogued as one of the altar-pieces in the Tribuna of the Uffizi in an inventory of 1589 (Gotti, Gallerie di Firenze, u. s. p. 327). The handling of Giulio is most visible in the Baptist, whose head is painted quite in his known style. The frame is remarkable for his tendency to excess in weight and bone, and want of rounding in the flesh parts. His, likewise, are the substantial pigments spread thickly and moistened with superabundant medium, and the dark shadows. Giulio's cold execution is also visible in the Virgin. But the lights are painted over with an abler stroke, which is doubtless that of Raphael. The same may be said of the Infant Christ, which

is not drawn with perfect correctness of outline, and here and there appears painted in translucent and uniform tints. Equally below Raphael's mark are the flesh parts of St. Elizabeth, although they are better treated than those of the Child, being probably the work of an assistant inferior to Giulio, retouched by Raphael. Penni might be the most appropriate name for this assistant, who also worked at the female saint behind St. Elizabeth.

*Corsham.* Lord Methuen owns a replica of the Madonna dell' Impannata, which was purchased by the Rev. John Sandford at Florence from the lawyer Rivani in 1834. It is not finished, and rather red in the flesh preparations, through which the outlines are still visible. But, though an old copy, it is difficult, on account of its incompleteness, to name the author.

Madrid Museum. No. 381. Wood. 1·64 h. by 1·28. This also is an old copy of warm and fairly transparent tone.



strikes us in this picture is the tendency of the journeymen to imitate a certain form of handling which Raphael had himself adopted in his likeness of Bindo Altoviti. It would seem indeed that Raphael was painting that likeness when his pupils produced the "Impannata," and Raphael might have exchanged palets with any of them, and obtained similar textures with all their characteristics of gloss and lucidity. But Raphael being the originator and his disciples machines, the final result was a capital picture on his part and a feebler one on the part of his pupils. That Altoviti was fully aware of the difference between the two pieces is clearly proved by his keeping the first and hastening to dispose of the second to the Grand Duke of Tuscany.\* The likeness remained an heirloom in his family till the beginning of the present century. After some vicissitudes it passed into the Gallery of Munich, and there we observe at leisure the variety which distinguishes an original from a composition of which Raphael drew the lines, and only retouched the surfaces at the moment of completion.

The passage in which Vasari describes the "stupendous portrait" which Raphael executed for Bindo Altoviti, is so carelessly worded that doubts have arisen as to its true meaning.† A battle of the pen has been fought to decide whether the biographer intended to convey that the person depicted bore the painter's features or those of his patron.‡ But nothing

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\* See the previous note.

† "Ed a Bindo Altoviti fece il ritratto suo."—Vas. viii. p. 32.

‡ For the opinion that the Munich portrait represents Bindo Altoviti:—Lanzi, Missirini, Wicar,

can be more certain than that the true model of Raphael's face during his first residence at Rome was that of the fresco of the "School of Athens," which Vasari reversed in a woodcut for the Lives. If we assume that Vasari considered both portraits to represent Raphael, we cast a slur on his artistic judgment. The varieties in the two heads have obviously tried the critical acumen of Grimm, who breaks a lance in favour of the Raphaelic origin of the Munich portrait. He assumes that repainting distorted the head in the fresco of the "School of Athens."\* A closer inspection would prove to him that this statement cannot be sustained. The outlines in the fresco are as clear as they were when first drawn on the wall: they are deeply graven in the plaster and practically indelible, they probably represent Raphael. But if Vasari is right in saying so, the words in which he describes the Munich portrait can only apply to Bindo Altoviti. This beautiful picture is that of a young man of 21. His frame is seen to the shoulders, his face at three-quarters to the right, but the glance of the clear blue eyes goes straight at the spectator. The long and graceful neck, partly concealed by fair locks, which fall from beneath a black cap, the slate-coloured mantle edged with a fringe of white, the black sleeve and the ringed left hand resting on the breast, all contribute to the effectiveness of the picture. A

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Passavant, Müntz, Springer :  
against, Rumohr, Bottari, Mariette,  
H. Grimm.

\* Grimm (H.), *Leben Raphael's*,  
8vo, Berlin, 1872, p. 274.

downy whisker fringes the cheek near the ear. The treatment of the flesh is so bold and masterly that it is difficult to imagine more perfect blending and more delicate modulation combined with more fluid pigments or broader pencil-stroke. The result is a warm yet delicate opal transparency, in glossy surfaces of which the charm is but slightly impaired by unfortunate retouches. The period in which Raphael had sittings for this masterpiece is impressed on the panel by the style and execution which coincide with those of the frescos in the second Vatican chamber, by the dress which is identical with that of the portraits in the "Expulsion of Heliodorus," and by the age of Bindo who was 21 years of age in 1512. The youth and noble mien of a gentleman of the 16th century are transferred to the panel with the dignity and ease of Lionardo and the skill of Raphael.\*

Having, as it were, grazed the Michaelangelesque in the ceiling of the second Vatican chamber, Raphael had subsided, as we saw, into his own style, in the "Heliodorus" and "Mass of Bolsena." Whilst engaged in this current he was asked by John Goritz, a well-

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\* Munich. Pinakothek. No. 1052. Wood, 0·61. m. h. by 0·45. Till 1808 in the Altoviti palace at Florence, where it was bought by G. von Dillis for Crown Prince Ludwig of Bavaria. The colour of the neck is better preserved than that of any other part. The eyes, part of the nose, and the shadows of the face, have been subjected to retouching. There are patchings,

too, in the black sleeve and ground.

A copy of this portrait was given to the municipality of Bologna in 1720 by Francesco Mastri, then secretary to the senate of that city. It is now No. 211 in the Gallery of Bologna. Passavant mentions two other copies in the Sarazani Palace at Sienna, and the ex-Lancelotti Collection at Naples (ii. 119.)

known friend of the humanists, to paint a figure of a prophet in a conspicuous place at Sant' Agostino of Rome. Goritz was a native of Luxemburg, who had spent most of his life at the Vatican, where he acted as receiver of supplications and apostolic protonotary. Devoted to the worship of St. Anne, it was his habit to receive a select company of friends on the anniversary of his patron Saint in a villa which he owned near the forum of Trajan.\* The poets who flocked to his table signalized their affection by rhymes, which they posted in the morning in the prelate's chapel at Sant' Agostino, and pinned in the evening on the trees of the garden attached to his villa. Raphael's contribution to this churchman's fame was the figure of Isaiah, which, according to the testimony of Vasari, was nearly finished when Raphael chanced to visit the Sistine chapel. The sight of the wonderful frescos of Buonarrotti appear to have charmed alike the painter and his patron. Goritz compared Raphael's work with that of the Sistine, and requested him to remodel his design in the spirit of Michaelangelo. Raphael was amiable or ambitious enough to respond to the wish of his friend, and produced a second masterpiece entirely different from the first.†

A retrospective glance at the history of the competing labours of Michaelangelo and his rival, suggests the inquiry whether Raphael was induced to alter his fresco of "Isaiah" in the autumn of 1511, or

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\* St. Anne's day, July 26.

† Vas. viii. 22.

the winter of 1512. In the first case, he would have brought forth his second version before Buonarrotti exhibited a similar figure at the Sixtine. Michaelangelo's "Daniel" and "Jeremiah" were shown in 1511, his "Joel," "Ezekiel" and "Isaiah" in October of the following year, yet Vasari's anecdote of Bramante stealing into the Papal chapel in Raphael's company may be true,\* and Raphael would thus not only have seen the "Isaiah" before it was open to the public, but the "Ezekiel" also; and assuredly these two figures are the groundwork of the fresco at Sant' Agostino, the action of the arm being traceable to the first, and that of the legs to the second, whilst the boys with garlands remind us of those which Buonarrotti placed beneath the prophets' footstools at the Vatican. It is not doubtful that Raphael saw the whole of the Sixtine ceiling before he painted the "Isaiah." The only point which remains obscure is, whether his acquaintance with Michaelangelo's work dates before or after the close of October, 1512. In either case the remnants of the "Isaiah" at Sant' Agostino afford conclusive proof of his versatility and power. The prophet is represented on a marble chair. Throwing his right shoulder forward, his bare arm bent across his breast, he holds a scroll, of which the lower end reposes in his left hand. The bearded head inclines to the left, and looks commanding, as the far-seeing glance shoots outward to enforce the words of the scroll: "Open ye the gates that the righteous nation which keepeth the truth may

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\* *Ibid.*

enter." \* About the colossal frame the copious folds of a blue tunic are gathered into a belt. Round the head and about the loins, an orange mantle winds, covering the seat and all but the foot of the outstretched right leg, leaving bare the opposite limb, which is drawn back and foreshortened after the fashion of Buonarrotti. The muscular strength and herculean form of the prophet has its counterpart in the full shape of two naked boys who stand on the arms of the seat and support between them a tablet hung with a garland of oak and laurel leaves, the loose ends of which are twined about their shoulders. A Greek sentence on the tablet contains the name of Goritz and a dedication of the picture to St. Anne, the Virgin, and Christ. The string of oak, with its garnish of acorns, naturally suggests the Pontificate of Julius II. "In this figure," says Vasari, "Raphael improved and enlarged his manner, and gave it increased majesty." † And, no doubt the prophet looks majestic and grand so far as can be judged from the fragments that have been saved from the toils of restorers. We may even discover parts like the left knee, in which brilliant and transparent colour is modelled with admirable accuracy and effect. The attitude, action, and drawing, look as if they had once been clever and masterly; the drapery is broad and monumental. The children, moulded in the elegant form of those in the "Madonna di Foligno," appear to

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\* Isaiah, cap. xxvi. verse 2. In the picture the verses are given in | Hebrew.  
† Vas. viii. p. 22.

presage the perfection of the "Madonna di San Sisto." Something remains to show that, if borne on the current set in motion by Michaelangelo, Raphael still preserved his individuality, and subordinated his own gifts to a passing whim for the sake of imitating a great contemporary.\* But nothing precludes us

\* *Rome. Sant' Agostino. Fresco.* 8 ft. h. by 5.

Vasari says (viii. p. 22) that Bramante took Raphael surreptitiously into the Sistine chapel, of which he had the keys; and the sight of Michaelangelo's work caused Raphael to repaint—above Sansovino's Saint Anne in Sant' Agostino—the prophet which is seen there. It may not be useless to observe that the Saint Anne in the Goritz chapel, the second to the left in the left transept of the church, is inscribed with the sculptor's name and the date of 1512. As the first half of the Sistine ceiling was exhibited in August, 1511, and the whole of it on the 1st of Nov., 1512, the anecdote of the surreptitious visit of Bramante and Raphael, so far as it applies to the work of the latter at Sant' Agostino, would only be true of that part of the Sistine chapel, which was last finished. The "Isaiah" is not in the same place as the "St. Anne." It is painted in fresco on the third pillar of the nave, but the probability that it was finished in 1512 is confirmed by our knowledge that the boys who hold the garlands of oak, point to the Pontificate of Julius. It is confirmed, likewise, by the fact that the same

boys were painted by one of Raphael's pupils at the sides of the Rovere escutcheon, over a chimney piece in the apartments of Innocent VIII. at the Vatican (Richardson, Account, &c. . . . u. s. p. 181, and Pungileoni, Raphael. 132), and one of these figures, much injured, but apparently by a disciple of Raphael, is still preserved in the Academy of San Luca at Rome, having been broken from its place in the Vatican, and bequeathed to the Academy by Wicar. The fresco of "Isaiah" seems to have become seriously injured in a comparatively short space of time. The figure is thrown on a yellow grey background. According to Gasparo Celio (*Pittura che sono in Roma*, 1638, p. 16, ap. Pungileoni, Raphael, note to p. 131), a sacristan washed it with water during the Pontificate of Paul IV. (1655–58), and it was retouched by N. detto Braghettone, or, in other words, by Daniel da Volterra, who got the nickname of Braghettone after he had covered certain parts of the figures in Michaelangelo's "Last Judgment" (Vas. Annot. xii. p. 98). But the "Isaiah" has probably been frequently retouched, and in most of its parts the colours have been

from thinking that this was merely an effort to satisfy Goritz, or an attempt to prove that had Julius II. been willing to confide to him the painting of a ceiling, Raphael would have been able to compete with Michaelangelo on his own ground. Nothing, indeed came of this display. Raphael was content to make an experiment which he was not asked to repeat. There were no more ceilings to be painted just then; the Pontiff who might have initiated such labours was slowly sinking to his grave. When he rallied for a day, his courtiers might observe that his strength was failing; his absence from the daily mass at the Sixtine was ominous.\* And Raphael naturally thought it useless to follow the path which Goritz for a moment had engaged him to enter.

renewed, stained, and varnished. The bits most free from patching are: the yellow mantle and knee of Isaiah, the head, breast, and part of the stomach of the boy to the right, and the face of the boy to the left. The left foot of Isaiah is reduced to a mere deformity. On the tablet held up by the boys we still read, though with difficulty, **ANNH ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΤΟΚΩ, ΠΑΡΘΕΝΙΚΗ ΘΕΟΤΟΚΩ Κ. ΑΥΤ-ΡΩΤ Η ΧΡΙΣΤΩ ΙΩ ΚΟΡ.** There are copies of this fresco in two or three places: Vienna. Belved. No. 139. From the monastery of Heiligenkreuz. Assigned to Annibale

Carracci; but too feeble and woolly even for him. Milan. Ambrosiana. Copy of the Bolognese school. Dresden. Copy by Raphael Menga. The fragment of the left-hand boy in the Academy of St. Luke at Rome, is injured. In its present state it looks hardly like a copy by one of Raphael's pupils, but seems to suggest a much later date. Yet Pungileoni affirms (Raphael, 132) that it supported the arms of Julius II.

\* Paris de Grassis, in his *Diarium*, notes daily the absence of the Pope.



## CHAPTER IV.

Sickness of Julius II.—He witnesses the completion of the Sixtine chapel.—Takes to his bed.—Raphael stops work in the Camere.—Portrait of Federico Gonzaga.—Death of Julius.—Leo X. proclaimed.—Work resumed at the Vatican.—The Attila.—Introduction of Leo X. and his suite into that fresco.—G. F. Penni assistant.—Deliverance of Peter.—Giulio Romano and Penni.—Attila and Deliverance of Peter finished by June, 1514.—How Chigi and Leo X. managed Raphael's love affairs.—Leo wishes the Vatican chambers finished.—Chigi to complete the Farnesina and Chapel of the Pace.—Raphael's surroundings.—His letters to Castiglione and Ciarla.—Difference in their style.—Aretino.—The Galatea finished at the same time as the Deliverance of Peter, if not earlier.—Model of St. Peter's (Aug., Nov. 1514).—Relation of Raphael to Seb. del Piombo.—Impressions of the antique embodied in the Galatea.—Assistance of Giulio Romano.—Sibyls at S.M. della Pace.—Timoteo Viti.—The Madonna del Pesce.—De' Candelabri.—Della Sedlia.—Della Tenda.—Domenico Alfani.—Portrait of Phedra Inghirami.

THE frescos of the Vatican Chambers were somewhat forsaken when sickness confined the Pope to his bed. Yet Raphael could not be charged with neglect, since the close vicinity of the Chamber of Heliodorus to the patient's room, alone sufficed to impede the painter's labours. It was awful to think that the greatest of pontiffs lay dying in a neighbouring apartment; and the marshals of the court might think it imperiously necessary to bar the access whilst doctors held their consultations, and excited cardinals debated the chances of the succession.

Three things occupied Julius II.'s mind during the

last weeks of his existence. Two were connected with his policy, the third was Michaelangelo's ceiling at the Sistine.

"Tandem lassus," says Paris de Grassis, "venit pontifex ad vespervas quæ in capella celebratæ sunt more solito. Hodie primum capella nostra pingi finita aperta est, nam per tres aut quatuor annos tectum sive fornix ejus tecta semper fuit ex solari ipsum totum cooperiente."\*

To vespers, in the vigil of All Saints, 1512, Julius, in spite of his weariness, came to look at the ceiling of Michaelangelo, which after its first partial exhibition in August of the previous year, had now been completely displayed. Between that 31st of October and the 24th of the following December, the Pope neglected the ordinary duties of his sacred office. He received the Emperor's ambassador at the Belvedere, and attended two sittings of the Lateran council, to which he was carried in a litter. He went to matins on Christmas Eve, in the chapel of Nicholas V., and retired from that ceremony to the bed which he never afterwards forsook.

During this painful interregnum, Raphael's leisure was apparently extended. Men of influence, emboldened by the temporary paralysis of public affairs, besieged the painter with demands of service. Even

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\* P. de Grassis, MS. 5165, u. s. ii. p. 584. It is curious that this passage should have remained almost completely unnoticed. The

first person to quote it was Mr. E. Müntz in his "Rivalité d'artistes," Gaz. des Beaux Arts, Mar. and Ap. 1882.

a prince whose movements had been watched with jealous care by the wary policy of Julius, ventured to ask him for a picture. Two years earlier, Federico Gonzaga had stood for his likeness as a child in the fresco of the Camera della Segnatura. On the morning of the 10th of January, 1513, this prince was taken by the Mantuan envoy to Raphael's palace, where he sat for a charcoal drawing, "in a hat and feather, a golden coif, and one of his father's mantles." We are not told how the mantle of the marquis sat on the shoulders of his son who was then but twelve years old, but Raphael was clever enough to adjust the dress to the figure. He kept the clothes, when he dismissed the sitter; and subsequently told Grossi, the prince's tutor, that he was very busy and pleased to take the panel in hand. On the 18th of February, the news of the Pope's dangerous illness alarmed the city. Raphael sent back the dress, and declared that he could not attend to duty at so critical a moment. Yet he afterwards found leisure to finish a portrait worthy of appearing in the Mantuan Collection. It was exhibited in 1531 in the "armour chamber" of the Mantuan palace with del Sarto's copy of Raphael's "Leo X.," Titian's portrait of the "Marquis," "and 'a St. Jerom' by an artist of the Flemish school." The hasty return of the clothes caused a change in the appearance of the prince, who was represented "with long hair, a red hat, a medal, and a white shirt without a frill." In this state the likeness came with the Mantuan heirlooms into the collection of Charles I. of England, and is now

supposed to exist at Charlecote, near Warwick.\* It is needless to add that the picture was done from memory.

The prince, who lived as a hostage at Rome, was freed from constraint by the Pope's death, and retired to Mantua on hearing of that event; and he never revisited Rome during Raphael's lifetime. He remembered, indeed, that he had once had personal intercourse with the most celebrated artist of his day, and strove hard to secure a picture which Raphael neglected to paint. But he failed even to obtain the portrait till the master died, and then only by negotiation with a dependent of the family of the Colonna.†

Meanwhile the Pope's strength had been gradually failing, and his long expected death took place on the night of the 20th of February, 1513.

On the 11th of March, Leo X. was proclaimed at the Vatican, and on that day month he took possession of the Lateran basilica, to which he rode in state on the white palfrey which bore him through the field of Ravenna. All the painters and architects of Rome were invited to contribute to the pomp of this festival. The streets, from St. Peter's to the palace of Constantine, were adorned with antique statues,

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\* See the letters of Stazio Gadio and Gruesi, dated January 11 and Feb. 15, 1513, and Castiglione, dated January 1, 1521, which give the date of the sittings, and that of the acquisition of the picture. In *Campori Notizie di Gio. Santi e Raffaello*, u. s. pp. 7, 8. See also

the letter of Ippolito Calandra to Federico Gonzaga, Oct. 28, 1531, in Pungileoni's *Raphael*, note to p. 182, and Scharf's (G.) *Royal Picture Galleries*, p. 323. We have not seen the portrait, which belonged to Mr. Lucy of Charlecote.

† *Campori*, u. s.

and Madonnas and saints, by Italian craftsmen. Heathen and Christian art was commingled in a pageant of which the first Pope of the race of the Medici was the idol. Stretches of arras gave colour and splendour to houses and palaces. Triumphal arches adorned the squares or spanned the streets. Fronting the Court of the Chigi, on the left side of the Via del Banco, near the bridge of St. Angelo, a stately edifice was erected on pillars between which pictures and statues of Apollo, Minerva, and Mercury, were placed. The Florentines built an arch in the Via Giulia, where apostles, sibyls, and a session of the Lateran council were depicted.

If pictorial annals have not registered Raphael's share in the scenic adornments of those days, it was probably because chroniclers were too busy to dwell on any events less conspicuous than the quarrels of the Papacy with the dangerous forces of the French and Spaniards. Nobody thought of recording triumphs more durable than those of Leo X. at Novara. Even the archives of the Chigi will be consulted in vain to ascertain the time when Raphael produced the "Galatea" of the Farnesina, or the "Sibyls" of the Pace. The lines of an inscription, a letter, and a short record of payment explain that the fresco of "Attila," and the "Deliverance of Peter" at the Vatican, were finished between the 11th of March and the last days of June, 1514.\* But we are

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\* See *post.* Raphael to Ciarla, July 1, 1514, which speaks of the beginning of the Camera dell'


Incendio, a room which was decorated after the Chamber of Heliodorus.

left in doubt as to the date of completion of the "Madonna del Pesce," the "Madonna della Sedia," or the portrait of Phedra Inghirami, which, if we judge of them by their style, were all of the same period as the two last subjects in the Chamber of Heliodorus.

When Raphael received the commission to adorn the walls of that chamber, he doubtless submitted his sketches to the Pope's inspection, and Julius probably approved of them, and upon that, the "Attila" was begun.

The least curious of travellers visiting St. Peter's, will be struck by an eddy in the stream of the faithful, near a great pillar in the centre of the basilica. A niche in the pillar contains a bronze statue of St. Peter which receives the kisses of countless pilgrims. According to a legend of uncertain antiquity, the statue was cast from the metal of the Capitoline Jupiter in remembrance of a miracle by which Rome was saved from the fury of Attila.

The king of the Huns had crossed the Alps, and pitched his camp on the Mincio, when he was met by Leo the Pontiff, who warned him of the fate of Alaric. Whilst the barbarian listened to the warning, an aged man in priestly garments appeared with a drawn sword in the sky, and threatened the monarch with the terrors of instant death. Attila's retreat to his fastnesses beyond the Alps, was attributed to a miracle. Later versions of the legend transformed the single apparition of a priest on the Mincio into a vision of St. Peter and St. Paul on the banks of the Tiber.

That Julius should have chosen to illustrate his rescue of the Papacy from foreign invasion by the retreat of Attila, was of a piece with his selection of the wonders of Heliodorus and Bolsena. When Raphael was deputed to treat this subject, he suggested the advance of Attila to the Palatine, by a distant group of the Pope and his suite, supposed to have followed the Huns from the banks of the Mincio. The scene was admirably represented in a drawing  now at the Louvre.\* Attila, distinguished by his crown and regal mantle, rides at the head of his army and occupies the centre of the picture. Runners attend him; a helmet bearer and officers of state curb the wild action of their steeds. Close at the king's back the royal banners are unfurled; trumpeters sound a charge, and captains turn to give orders to the host which winds like a giant serpent out of a gorge on the right. To the left, a vanguard of cavalry and foot seems suddenly arrested by the supernatural appearance of the two apostles in the heavens, whose drawn swords are not more menacing than their stern progress at the head of angels in the sky. Attila has caught sight of these celestial foes. He recoils, shades his eyes with his right hand, and signals with the other to his troops to halt. The narrow gorge from which the host is pouring, seems formed by some cataclysm by which a bed of dolomitic rocks was overturned. Giovanni da Udine might have sketched these Alps in the wilds of

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\* See *antea*.

Carnia. The burning castle on the right looks like the ruin of Cadore. In contrast with this rugged country, the central landscape includes a rolling plain, with trees and habitations, the Colosseum and adjacent buildings, the Capitol, an aqueduct, and the far-off hills which may be those of Mount Mario or of Mount Gennaro. Raphael's object was not to give a correct view of Rome and the Campagna, but to concentrate some of its principal features in one view. On a knoll in the middle distance, the Pontiff has taken ground with his suite. The draughtsman's aim was to depict at one glance the passage of the Alps and the halt by the Tiber; Attila's approach is by the Cœlian Hill, and the Pope watches near the Palatine mount.

The careful manner in which one of the masters' subordinates put together the composition, and the shapes of single figures conceived by the genius of Raphael is shown in a single study at Oxford,—a pen drawing of the Florentine time, used in reverse for the back of the soldier on the left foreground of the Louvre drawing. It was but natural that he should also take as models for the cavalry of the Huns, the Sarmatian bowmen of the column of Trajan.\*

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\* Oxford. No. 59. Pen drawing. 9½ in. h. by 8. The sole difference between the figure in this drawing and that in the foreground of the Louvre design, is in the movement of one arm. The lines which indicate a woman in

the upper left corner of the sheet at Oxford, suggest that the original idea of the draughtsman was to compose a Massacre of the Innocents. On the back of the paper are three studies of a standing left leg.

A drawing of the same figure is



Raphael was no longer under the orders of Julius II., when he completed this fresco. It has been thought that he once altered the scheme of the picture at the Pope's bidding, by representing Julius in *sede gestatoria*, warning Attila of the fate of Alaric. The sketch to which this version of the subject applies is supposed to have perished, yet to have been preserved in its principal lines by a copy at Oxford.\* The form and handling of this drawing are not consistent with the notion that a follower of Raphael produced it: they rather suggest the daring of a student in the Chamber of Heliodorus, who patched together the different episodes of two of its frescos. It is probable that Raphael had begun the "Attila" before Julius II.'s death, and took the design of the Louvre as groundwork for his picture. The heads of some horses, altered in position, the soldiers furnished with scale armour and headgear after the models of the Trajan column, the king's action turned into a simple gesture of terror, the apostles without their attendant seraphs;—these are a few of the changes which distinguish the fresco from the sketch. More important and decisive than these, is the substitution of the Pope

noted in the Artaria Collection at Vienna (Windsor Catal. p. 321, lxi. No. 2).

\* Oxford. No. 90. Pale brownish paper. 15½ in. h. by 23. Brush stroke, umber wash, heightened with white. Attila here addresses the Pope. The dresses of the Huns are oriental. St. Paul alone is armed with a sword. The land-

scape is wanting. Of doubtful drawings for the fresco, the following may be mentioned here:

Oxford. No. 157. Head of a horse. In black chalk.

Windsor Palace. Rapid pen outline of two men on horseback cantering to the left (Windsor Catal. p. 202).

and his suite for the vanguard of the Huns, on the left foreground of the picture by which the direct intervention of Heaven is tempered by the interposition of the Church. It was no longer the Deity, but Leo, that bade St. Peter and St. Paul to appear. The Pope bestrides the grey which he rode at Ravenna. He wears the tiara. Two cardinals on mules follow him. His rein is held by the grooms of the stables. The crucifix and mace are carried before him. His outstretched hand calls the apostles to action. A new contrast is embodied in the subject. The confident serenity and irresistible command of the church confounds the barbarian king. It was to be expected that Raphael, having to paint Leo X. for the first time since his accession, should exhaust his powers to produce a masterpiece. He must have taken the Pontiff directly from life, so true and individually characteristic are the features, and the oily suffusion of a florid and puffy face, so perfectly worked, the fluid transparent touches, and the blended modulations of the flesh. But Raphael was not less clever in the display of the conscious strength and calmness affected by the churchmen and the consternation of Attila, the fire of his captains rushing on with couched spears, and the stern purpose of the saints in the air. There is something peculiarly grand in the discrimination of the master, who makes St. Paul point to the fires which the hordes have kindled, and St. Peter's advance with the keys to manifest the condemnation of God and the church. It is doubtful whether majesty in form and action was ever united to so much gravity

and determination., The draperies are disposed with a monumental simplicity unsurpassed in any picture of the time.\*

Raphael was not without assistance in the execution of this work. The hand of Penni stands revealed in some of its subordinate parts. But in the main, the master's touch meets us at every turn, and the colours are used with the richness, the brilliancy and transparency of which he alone had the secret in that age. The principle which swayed Raphael in pitting the dusky Heliodorus against the brilliant Attila, was applied with similar efficacy to balance the brightness of the Mass of Bolsena with the gloom of St. Peter's prison. If it be true that the vision of Patmos was intended to cover the window front which was afterwards filled with the deliverance of the apostle, the same pictorial effect might have been produced by surrounding the Eternal and archangels with a portentous darkness.†

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\* The state of this fresco is not perfect. It has been retouched in the sky, the landscape, and dolomitic rocks, in some of the men of the host on the right, and the apostles in the air. The left leg of Attila has been repainted as well as the cuirass of the man holding a lance in the centre of the foreground. The ground itself is injured by corrosion of the plaster.

† This sketch is in the portfolios of the Louvre Collection. It represents the Eternal distributing the trumpets of the

Judgments to seven angels, an eighth angel at the altar holding a censer. Below to the right the Evangelist with his eagle, and the angel lifting up his hand to heaven. On the foreground to the left a beardless Pope on his knees in prayer, attended by two prelates, and one holding a tiara. There are traces of a composition at the back of the sheet, like the Mass of Bolsena. The drawing is not by Raphael. The state to which it has been reduced makes it unadvisable to venture an opinion as to the authorship.

The "Deliverance of Peter" is perhaps more in harmony with modern currents of thought than any other illustration in the Chamber of Heliodorus. The cell in which St. Peter reposes is just above the window of the Camera, yet magically illumined by the halo which radiates from a winged angel. The messenger of Heaven has entered the room and bends over the slumbering apostle, who sits half raised against the wall with his hands and ancles manacled. The manacles are connected by chains to the lances of warders in armour at his head and feet, but the heaviness of their eyelids is not disturbed by the coming of the angel. Square pillars forming the sides of the dungeon and a grating, behind which the prisoner lies, sufficiently convey the idea of absolute confinement. On the steps outside, the armed watch is overcome with drowsiness. The crescent of the moon sheds a mild ray on a distant landscape to the left, and edges with silver streaks the steel of the troopers' breastplates and helmets. Near the prison-door, where the sentry has started from sleep, the light is so strong that he turns, battleaxe in hand, to hide his face from the radiance. The head-keeper in the left foreground runs in with a torch and wakes the captain, who lies on the lower step, whilst another roused by the summons still looks stupidly round. Meanwhile the second act of the miracle is performed. Peter stands outside the door to the right, where the guards are senseless and unconscious. He pauses and listens in wonder to the words of the angel who holds his hand and invites him to freedom. The rays of the moon,

the torch, and the halos of the angels, the reflections and reverberations of the metallic surfaces, the clouds and the smoke, are managed with a skill which, to us, is not less wonderful than it was to Leo X.'s contemporaries.\* Tradition barely warrants the assertion that Piero della Francesca covered this wall of the Camera with an effect similar to that of Raphael, but if we venture to assume that he did so, the great pupil of Domenico Veneziano will appear in the same relation to Raphael as Raphael to Sebastian del Piombo, when he painted the "Pieta" of Viterbo, and the "Entombment" of the Hermitage. St. Peter at the prison-door recalls the St. Peter of Masaccio in the Capella Brancacci, and the angel, in his effulgent dress, reminds us of Tuscan models of the same age perfected and chiselled to antique finish by the genius of a modern. Memling, with the patience of a Fleming, has rendered the play of the sun on burnished steel with accomplished realism; but his art is minute as compared with that of the greatest of Italian craftsmen.

That so much mastery and effectiveness should have been dimmed by time and accidents, is much to be deplored, yet the splendour of the picture is but partially obliterated, nor can we fail to observe in the large forming of some parts, and the forcible darkness of others, the muscular hand of Giulio Romano.† It

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\* Vas. viii. p. 26.

† The colours in the "Deliverance of Peter" are occasionally opaque and heavy, a defect which cannot be charged to Raphael or his assistants. The most injured

parts are the figure of St. Peter, whose feet are mere daubs of restoring. The angel in the cell is also corroded and retouched, especially in the right arm and hand. The two guards asleep on

was not Raphael's habit to apply the skill of his disciples indiscriminately. He knew how to select for each picture the labour best suited to its production. His employment of Penni was confined to the caryatidæ beneath the skirting of the principal pictures. Other pupils added the panellings in the spaces between those figures; others again the subjects in the embrasures of the windows.\* The drawing at Florence,

the steps to the right have suffered more from abrasion than any part of the picture. The best preserved bits are the lights of the steel armour, and the shape and robes of the angel on the right. The landscape and sky to the left have been repainted on a ruthless scale, and an oblique fissure in the wall runs across the shoulder and right hand of St. Peter in the prison scene.

\* There are fifteen figures of caryatidæ and termini with marble tablets between them, and beneath these monochromes, simulating bronze. Twelve of the caryatidæ are allegories of women, representing commerce, religion, law, peace, shipping, navigation, abundance, pastoral life, agriculture, wine. Each of them supports the capitals on which the skirting of the frescos rest. Commerce, designed by Raphael, may be seen in a red chalk drawing, heightened with white, at the Louvre, which, though partially obliterated, is still a fine study from nature. The woman, in profile, stands bare-legged on the ground. Her left arm escapes from a loose draped

shawl knotted to her shoulder, of which the thin crumpled stuff is well imitated. She supports the capital with her left hand, and looks round at the spectator with features which recall those of Raphael's Madonnas of the period (Louvre. No. 328. M. 0·260 h. by 0·132. From the Jabach Collection). The bronze reliefs illustrate the occupations of which the caryatidæ are the allegories. They are—most of them—entirely repainted in the style of Carlo Maratta. The monochromes in the embrasures of the windows are six in number, but nearly invisible. Bartoli's prints give the subjects: Joseph before Pharaoh, Moses about to cross the Red Sea, Moses receiving the Tables of the Law, The Annunciation, The Mass, and Constantine's grant of Rome to Pope Sylvester. A washed pen-and-ink sketch of the Passage of the Red Sea is described in the catalogue of the Stockholm Museum (not seen). Another at Chatsworth represents the King enthroned under a tent, Joseph on his knees to the left, with attendants at each side. One

which represents a variety of the "Deliverance of Peter," we have ventured to assign to one of the master's assistants.\* The genuine sketch for the architecture of the prison and some of the figures in the fresco appears to be buried in the portfolios of the Florentine collection.†

Tablets in the window soffit beneath the "Deliver-

of the numerous works in washed umber and white of Raphael's disciples.

\* Uffizi. No. 536. Pen drawing, washed with Indian-ink, heightened with white, much dilapidated—the angel to the right being almost gone. The principal features which distinguish the drawing from the fresco are the altered position of the guards who stand in the sketch in front of the prisoner, and the action of the soldiers on the left who press forward with sword and buckler, yet are blinded by the light. The rays emanating from the angels illumine the whole picture—the torch and the moon not having been introduced. Further, the captain on the steps has not yet risen at the summons of the keeper; and the latter is without a torch. In spite of these divergences, the sketch may have been executed by Raphael's disciples on lines which he had laid down.

† Uffizi. In vol. xxxvii. of architectural drawings, Mr. Albert Jahn saw (1869) Raphael's sketch of the architecture for the "Deliverance of Peter"; but it seems to have been projected for a different space

from that in the fresco. The watch are shown asleep in the foreground. The angel is merely indicated (not seen). Consult *Jahrbücher für Kunstwissenschaft*, 8vo, Leipzig, 1869, vol. ii. p. 152.

Studies by Raphael might be thought to exist, representing single figures of the watch. But though they are, in one case at least, exact reproductions of the nude as represented, clad, in the fresco, they are treated in a form which points to a later period of the master's practice than 1514. Of these studies we note: Windsor Palace. Black chalk drawing on blue grey paper. 12½ in. h. by 9. The figure is reversed and very boldly carried out. Windsor Catalogue, pp. 40 and 203. Same place. Black chalk. 9½ in. h. by 8½. The foremost figure rests on the right, the left leg forward, crouching under the round shield held up by his companion, whose arm is on his comrade's loins. A fine expression of terror in the profile of the first figure. See Windsor Catalogue, p. 40. It is still uncertain whether these two figures are meant for the "Deliverance of Peter" or the "Battle of Constantine."

ance" record the termination of the fresco in the second year of Leo's pontificate. A more exact computation fixes the date at about the end of June, 1514.\* It seems hardly credible that the result of fifteen months' labour should have been a single wall-painting and a section of a fresco, to which a group had been added. Raphael was clearly not very constant or eager for work at the time. It is even said by a grave historian that Leo remarked his laxity and discovered its cause; and this led to a little conspiracy in which the Pontiff and Agostino Chigi took part, with the result that Raphael not only completed the Chamber of Heliodorus, but the "Galatea" of the Farnesina, and the frescos of the Chapel of the Pace. The grave historian to whom we owe this revelation is Fabio Chigi, who was raised to the papal chair in 1655, as Alexander VII. He wrote a life of his ancestor, Agostino, in which, speaking of his relation to Pontiff and painter, he says that the Pope began his reign by confirming Raphael at the Vatican. But he afterwards observed a certain remissness on the master's part, which was explained by the devotion lavished on a lady who was his mistress. Leo, as a man of the world, asked Agostino Chigi to use his influence to bring Raphael to a sense of his responsibilities, and Chigi accepted, insinuating that he would like to be

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\* LEO X. PONT. ANN. CHRIST.  
MAX. MDXIII.  
PONTIFICAT. SVI II.

This double inscription is con-

firmed by Raphael's letter to Ciarla of July 1, 1514. See *postea*, and a payment of 100 ducats, dated Aug. 1, 1514, in Fea, *Notizie*, p. 9.



allowed to promote his own interests by diverting some of the master's spare energy to the decoration of edifices once entrusted to Raphael's care, but subsequently abandoned. So far the narrative of Fabio Chigi confirms the statements of Vasari, from which it would appear that the frescos of the Farnesina and the "Sibyls" of the Pace were designed and partly executed before Julius II.'s death.\* The mode in which the conspiracy was further developed is described by Fabio in the most simple and straightforward manner. Agostino invented, and Leo X. probably approved, a stratagem by which the girl to whom Raphael devoted himself was stolen away. A visit from Chigi revealed the painter's distress. Raphael confided his loss to the very ravisher himself, who promised to use all his influence to discover the lady's hiding-place, provided Raphael would agree to resume the labours which he had relinquished. Raphael was glad to accept the terms, which might be confirmed by the crafty acquiescence of Leo. He applied himself to Chigi's commissions till his efforts relaxed from the effects of disappointment. Chigi then restored his equanimity by communicating fictitious letters in which the probable return of the fugitive was announced, finally he pretended to have rescued her from captivity, and, as a crowning stroke of policy, brought her to Raphael in the Farnesina itself.

We need not discuss the morality of a story which

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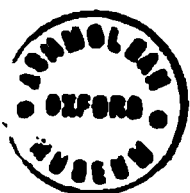
\* Vas. viii. p. 22.

is told by a Cardinal who afterwards became a Pontiff.\* It confirms the narrative of Vasari, and might lead to the conclusion that Raphael began the "Galatea" in the reign of Julius, and finished it after his death. The conduct of Leo, as well as the acuteness of the banker, would make it possible for Raphael to paint in the Chigi villa and the Pace. The frescos in both places bear out the anecdotes of Fabio Chigi and Vasari. The "Galatea," though full of excellence, was not executed with the nicety of style and treatment which would necessarily come of uninterrupted application. Its various parts recall the master's earlier Florentine bias, his subsequent study of the antique, and the final employment of Giulio Romano. The frescos of the Pace are equal in power to anything that Raphael created in 1514; they remind us of the purest forms of the "Galatea," the breadth of treatment of the "Isaiah," and the noblest shapes of the Camera dell' Eliodoro. But their perfection is marred by disintegrating elements due to the work of assistants.

Raphael's surroundings, which we thus restore from the various indications of history and pictures, now begin to resemble those which Lomazzo has noted of the genial artist followed by a host of disciples and met by the solitary Michaelangelo.† We see the figures of Marcantonio, Penni, Giovanni da Udine, Giulio Romano, Dosso, Timoteo Viti, attending their master, the aged Bramante in the distance, in com-

\* The story is told in a drastic way in Cugnoni's *Agostino Chigi*, | *u. s.*, p. 30.

† Lomazzo, *Idea*, *u. s.*, p. 40.



munion with Fra Giocondo, Peruzzi, the Sangalli, and other architects of these halcyon days at Rome. We note the presence at the Vatican of the two Barnards, Bibiena, and Accolti, who accompanied Giovanni de' Medici, and the Cardinal of Ancona, to the conclave of 1513, Pietro Bembo, joint secretary with Sadolet to Leo X., Lorenzo Pucci, the datary, and Baldassare Castiglione, agent of Urbino at the Vatican. At various periods of Leo X.'s pontificate, each one of these prelates and diplomatists cultivated Raphael's acquaintance, and Castiglione particularly expressed his admiration for talents which he honoured and applauded.

Nothing is more interesting in the literature of Leo's age than the letter, which has so often been printed, from Raphael to Castiglione, a letter which purports to have been written in reply to that nobleman's compliments on the completion of the "Galatea." The diction and the substance of this communication are so remarkable, that they require the most attentive consideration.

"Sir Count," says Raphael, "I have made several designs in accordance with the ideas which you suggested, and if I believe my flatterers, I have satisfied them all. Yet I have not satisfied my own judgment, since I fear that I shall not have pleased yours. I send the designs, and beg you will make a selection, if you think any of them worthy of acceptance. Our Lord [the Pope] has done me great honour by throwing a considerable burden on my shoulders—that of attending to the building of St.

Peter's. I hope I shall not sink under it; the more so as the model which I have made is approved by His Holiness, and praised by many intelligent persons. But I soar in thought to higher spheres—I should like to discover the beautiful forms of ancient edifices, and know not whether my flight may not be the flight of Icarus. I gather much light from Vitruvius, but not as much as I require.

“With regard to the ‘Galatea,’ I should consider myself a great master if it realised one half of the many things of which you write; but I gather from your words the love you bear me, and I should tell you that to paint a beauty one should see many, the sole condition being that you should be with me to make choice of the best. Good judgment being as scarce as handsome women, I make use of a certain idea which comes to my mind. But whether this, in itself, has any excellence of art I know not; I shall do what I can to attain it.”

The letter is without a date, but addressed to Castiglione from Rome. It refers generally to things that occurred in 1514.\* It must have been penned after Midsummer, when Raphael wrote to his cousin Ciarla at Urbino. And yet what a contrast between the polished form of the first and the homely language of the second! Here the comparison:—

“To my dearest Cousin, Simone di Battista di Ciarla in Urbino.

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\* There are two versions of this letter in Bottari, *u. s.*, Lettere, i. 116; and ii. 23. The last contains the passage, “to paint a beauty one should see many,” which is not in the first.

“Dearest, in place of a father. I have received one of yours; most dear to me, because it assures me that you are not angry; which indeed would be wrong considering how tiresome it is to write when one has nothing of consequence to say. But now, being of consequence, I reply to tell you as much as I am able to communicate.

“And first, in reference to taking a wife, I reply that I am quite content in respect of her whom you first wished to give me, and I thank God constantly that I took neither her nor another, and in this I was wiser than you who wished me to take her. I am sure that you too are now aware that I would not have the position I now hold, since I find myself at this present in possession of things in Rome worth three thousand ducats of gold, and receipts of fifty scudi in gold, because His Holiness has given me a salary of three hundred gold ducats for attending to the building of St. Peter's, which I shall never fail to enjoy so long as my life lasts; and I am certain of getting others, and am also paid for what I do to what amount I please, and I have begun to paint another room for His Holiness which will amount to one thousand two hundred ducats of gold. So that, dearest Cousin, I do honour to you and all relatives, and to my country; yet for all that, I hold you dear in the centre of my heart, and when I hear your name, I feel as if I heard that of a father; and do not complain of me because I do not write, because I have to complain of you that you sit pen in hand all day and let six months go by between one letter and the other. Still, with all that, you will

not make me angry with you, as you do wrongly with me.

“ I have come fairly out of the matter of a wife, but, to return to that, I answer that you may know that Santa Maria in Porticu (Cardinal Bibiena) wants me to have one of his relatives, and with the assent of you and the cousin priest (Bartolommeo Santi) I promised to do what his reverend lordship wanted, and I cannot break my word. We are now more than ever on the point of settling, and presently I shall advise you of everything. Have patience, as the matter is in such a good way, and then, should it not come off, I will do as you may wish, and know that if Francesco Buffa has offers for me, I have some of my own also, and I can find a handsome wife of excellent repute in Rome as I have heard. She and her relatives are ready to give me three thousand gold scudi as a dowry, and I live in a house at Rome, and one hundred ducats are worth more here than two hundred there ; of this be assured.

“ As to my stay in Rome, I cannot live anywhere else for any time, if only because of the building of St. Peter's, as I am in the place of Bramante ; but what place in the world is more worthy than Rome, what enterprise more worthy than St. Peter's, which is the first temple of the world and the largest building that has ever been seen, the cost of which will exceed a million in gold ? And know that the Pope has ordered the expenditure on that building of sixty thousand ducats a year, and he never gives a thought to anything else. He has given me a companion, a

most learned old friar of more than eighty years of age. The Pope sees that he cannot live long; he has resolved to give him to me as a companion, for he is a man of high reputation, and of the greatest acquirements, in order that I may learn from him, and if he has any secret in architecture that I may become perfect in that art. His name is Fra Giocondo; and the Pope sends for him every day and chats a little with us about the building.

“I beg you to be good enough to go to the Duke and Duchess and tell them this, as I know they will be pleased to hear that one of their servants does them honour, and recommend me to them as I continually stand recommended to you. Salute all friends and relatives for me, and particularly Ridolfo who has so much love for me.

“The first of July, 1514.

“Your RAFFAEL, painter in Rome.”

In which of these effusions shall we find the hand of Raphael,—in that which Castiglione received, full of flattery, antithesis and classic allusions, or in that to Ciarla in which money matters, and reflections on matrimony are discussed in homely words and with a keen eye to business?

The flight of Icarus might have been impressed on the painter's memory by the recollection of Peruzzi's fresco representing that subject in Chigi's villa. But how shall we reconcile the *simile* with the marriage schemes of Cardinal Bibiena, or the study of Vitruvius with a hankering after Fra Giocondo's secrets? What

shall we say to the conduct of Raphael, who neglected work because he was addicted to pleasure, and entertained the notion of marrying a cardinal's niece whilst he gravely discussed the chances of winning another respectable girl with a large dowry? The field of conjecture seems boundless. But we must recollect that the morals of the sixteenth century are not to be gauged by the standard of the nineteenth. Women of doubtful fame were known to move in the highest circles of Rome. Imperia reigned in the Palace of Agostino Chigi, and sat at the table of princes and prelates; the same individual might be seen alternately at the feet of an honest woman or a courtesan, and public opinion, if such a thing can be said to have existed, was not rigid in its condemnation of such errors.

The letters of Raphael to Ciarla and Castiglione are both of respectable antiquity. One of them was published in extract by Richardson in 1722. It belonged to Cardinal Albani, afterwards Pope Clement XI., and was copied by Lucantonio Giunta, for a Chronicle of Urbino, and discovered by Pungileoni in the Albani Palace. It was said to have been found in 1631 amongst the papers of the last Duke of Urbino; and the truth may be that the letter was sent at Raphael's instigation to Francesco Maria I., who kept it as an heirloom.\* The letter to Castiglione was printed in a selection published by

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\* It was copied for Lucantonio Giunta's Chronicle. "Memorie storiche d' Urbino," MS. of the 17th century, in the Albani

Palace (see Pungileoni's Raphael, *u. s.*, pp. 157-66). See also the extract in Richardson, *u. s.*, 257.



Bernardino Bino at Venice in 1582.\* Passavant thought that Raphael wrote the first in dialect, and the second in pure Italian, because he was familiar with both.† Yet this is probably more plausible than true. Artists wrote in dialect in the sixteenth century, because they could not express themselves in Tuscan. Higher efforts of epistolary correspondence were left to literary men. Titian employed Aretino, and Raphael probably did the same, nor is it unlikely that both confided similar tasks to the same individual. Raphael's lines addressed to Castiglione are in the same style as Titian's first despatch to the Marquess of Mantua, and Aretino, before settling at Venice, spent his youth in the service of Agostino Chigi, frequented the company of Giulio Romano and Marcantonio, and boasted of an intimacy with Raphael, to which Chigi might have testified.‡ It is curious that the letter to Castiglione should have been printed at Venice, the very place where it might have been found amongst Aretino's undated drafts. If it could be proved on safer evidence than we may have been able to bring forward that Aretino really penned the compliments of Raphael to Castiglione, we might determine the date of this occurrence with some certainty. The allusion to the model of St. Peter's, which Raphael describes as "having been made by himself," is a clue of inestimable value. The model was designed by Raphael within three months after

\* B. Bino, *Nuova Scelta di Lettere*, Ven. 1582, Jan. 2, 249 in *Pungileoni*, u. s., p. 161.

† Pass. Raph. i. 501.

‡ Aretino in *Dolce's Dialogo della Pittura*, u. s., p. 8.

Bramante's death, and given to Giovanni Barile to construct. Bramante died in March; the model was finished before the 1st of August, and Barile was appointed to make it in wood on the 1st of November, 1514.\* Raphael's communication was addressed to the envoy of Urbino in summer. The "Galatea" must therefore have been finished sufficiently early in that year to enable Castiglione to compliment the painter and receive the compliments of Raphael in return.

The Chigi villa in the Lungara was the scene of many courtly revels in the days of Leo X., yet the pictorial adornment of its rooms was still incomplete on the eve of Chigi's death. Years elapsed before the magnificent taste of the owner was satisfied with the labour of the many painters who were chosen for its decoration. Peruzzi, who built the house, laid out the ceiling of the garden hall with classic pictures. He filled the vaultings of the lunettes with antique subjects, the lunettes were covered by Sebastian del Piombo with scenes from the poem of Ovid; and the walls would perhaps have been enlivened by his art, but that doubts arose in Chigi's mind whether his skill was adequate to the task. The figure of Polyphemus, which he was allowed to paint on the rectangular field next to the "Galatea," was probably considered below the mark; and Raphael was asked to continue the series of which the "Polyphemus" was an early sample. The legend which Raphael was

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\* See Bembo's draft of a brief, dated Aug. 1, 1514 (in P. Bembi. *Epistolarum, Liber ix.*) See also

Fea, *u. s.*, and Milanesi in Vas. viii. note to p. 92; and Milanesi, *Scritti Varii*: 8vo, Sienna, 1873, p. 180.

instructed to compose was doubtless originally reserved for his Venetian colleague. We may notice by the way the effects of the substitution of one artist for the other. Sebastiano might have been Raphael's friend before he left the Farnesina. He naturally considered his successful competitor an enemy, yet there could be no doubt, even in Del Piombo's mind, that he was unfit to cope with the superior talents of the painter of the Camere. Raphael probably took the subject of the "Galatea" out of his rival's hands, and produced a picture which is justly considered better than anything that Del Piombo ever created. A whole gallery of masterpieces might have been produced from the source which Chigi selected—Politian's "Giostra," composed in the fifteenth century, in honour of a tourney in which Giuliano de' Medici won the prize. In measured verse it describes the palace of Venus adorned with the fables of Uranus, Venus, Pluto, Hercules, and Polyphemus. It tells how the Cyclops sat on a rock under a plane tree with Pan's pipe at his side watching Galatea disporting herself on the waves, and strove to soften her obdurate heart with song. She stood in her car on the sea, and guided her team of dolphins whilst her companions, the tritons and nereids, gambolled about her, and laughed at the blandishments of her lover. The vein of classic imitation which runs through the poem of the Giostra has not been considered rich in the pure ore of poetic thought.\* Raphael unconsciously observed this

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\* Springer, Raffael und Michelangelo, u. s., 264.

defect, and went to the source of Politian's inspiration. There was no lack of antique models to which he could appeal. The Capitol Museum possesses the casts of bas-reliefs which were copied by Bartoli, when the originals were still in the monastery of San Francesco ad Ripas; they give an important clue to the studies of Raphael for the "Galatea." In one of these pieces Leucothea appears on the shore, Portumnus at her side with a nereid on his back holding a mirror in which she contemplates her face; a breeze from the sea bellies the veil which she holds in her hand. Behind Leucothea, a triton on horseback carries a child on his shoulder; a cupid in front is drawn by a dolphin, to whose ears he is clinging; another cupid, astride of a fish, trumpets cheerily with a shell. The second bas-relief shows us Venus on the back of a ram led through the water by a triton. A nereid lolls on the shoulders of a god half horse, half fish, Eros flutters with torches through the air, and Amor rides on a dolphin.\* Raphael keeps note of all the graceful elements of compositions of this kind, and, without imitating one of them, creates a picture completely imbued with the loveliness of the classic age. "Compared with earlier, or even with contemporary masterpieces by the same hand, the 'Galatea' looks like

\* *Reliefs of the Chorus of Aphrodite.* Museum of the Capitol. Sala del Fauno. Cast of a sarcophagus, copied by Bartoli in *Æde D. Francisci ad Ripas* (Rome). "*Admiranda Romanorum antiquitatum vestigia*:" Roma, fol. 1693, No. 31.

The studies of this form of the antique are apparent in two or three very fine drawings at Oxford, Nos. 82 and 83, in which tritons, river-gods and nereids are beautifully grouped into serpentine ornament (see notes, Chap. VI.).

the work of an antique painter. The grand prominence given to single figures, the art with which they are brought as much as possible into the same plane, the covering of space as fully as can, by any means, be compassed, the precipitous stretch to a lofty horizon, by which each person is made to appear above as well as behind another—all this is a proof that Raphael studied the methods of composition peculiar to the ancients.” \* The feeling is that of the classic time, primitive in its absolute freedom from constraint, playful, bold, yet not unchaste. Pity that the Polyphemus should remain unconnected with the scene which the poet has sketched. He sits apart whilst Galatea rules the wave. Her form is all but naked yet veiled by the red peplum which winds round her left leg and hip, leaving the right leg bare from the knee to the ankle. The breeze makes it cling to the edge of the frame till, freed at the shoulder, it passes into the air and flutters in gay contrast with the loosened locks that are borne outwards in flaps by the same current. The fine poise of the body on limbs elastic to the motion of the swell on which the shell, with its paddles, is moving; the turn of the shoulders to the right, whither the arms are borne by the strain of the ribands curbing the dolphins; the opposite turn of the head which looks round to the left to smile at the Cyclops, are grace itself. A winged cupid clings to the dolphin’s beard and laughs as he glides—groom-in-waiting to the goddess—in tow

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\* H. Grimm. *Künstler und Kunstwerke*, u. s. ii. 10.

of the monster. To the left a nereid sits on a man-fish whose leg ends in a fin like that of a seal. She raises her right arm to retain the gauze that escapes from her left, and swells into a curve above her head. She looks gleeful and smiling at the bearded, leaf-crowned, face of the being, whose brawny grip is thrown round her. Behind this couple a sea-god rides on a white horse and gives a trumpet call through a conch. In rear to the right, the sound is taken up by another blowing a horn. A triton with the legs and hoofs of a centaur carries a nereid on his back and propels himself with an oar; and in the sky above the sea, three beautiful cupids shoot the arrows of which a quiver-full is held by one of their companions. It seems almost needless to observe how the winged boy in tow of the dolphin, the blast of the conch, or the nereids borne on the shoulders of tritons connect the picture of Raphael with the carvings of antique reliefs. We know when the subject was finished; we inquire when it was begun, and certain signs take us back to the earlier studies of Raphael after his coming to Rome, whilst they equally recall a grander expansion of his talent in the later frescos of the Camere. In the spirit and line which she displays the Galatea reminds us of the St. Catherine of the National Gallery, or the Windsor study for the "Theology" of the Segnatura. As regards movement, modelling, light and shade, or expression, the idea which she conveys is that of the time when Raphael painted the frescos of the ceiling in the Chamber of Heliodorus. It may be said

indeed that if all the parts of the Farnesina fresco were treated with the same skill as the "Galatea," no finer creation of the master would exist. Unfortunately the periods of faltering which Chigi strove to neutralize by stratagems were marked by a total abandonment of work to Giulio Romano. The harsh contours, and coarse red tones, and that peculiar expansion of forms into the colossal which characterize Giulio brought a discord into the figures of the swimming cupid, and the triton and his mate. Raphael barely succeeded, with a few spirited touches, in restoring the harmony which his pupil had for a moment jeopardized.\*

Raphael's correspondence with Castiglione contains no allusion to the decorations of the Pace, which, on various grounds are assignable to the same period as the "Galatea." In both masterpieces the same alter-

\* *Farnesina*. This beautiful picture is finished without hatchings. It is thrown out of harmony by the total repainting of the sky and much retouching of the water. The eyes of the Galatea are now holes in the plaster. The point of the finger of the left hand is gone. The lights of the red dress have become oxidised or bleached. The same discolouring has taken place in the leaden half-tints of the flesh. The hair is in part repainted on the new sky. The left leg of the foreground nymph has suffered from retouching, and a fissure in the plaster runs across the leg of the angel in the sky to the right. The restorer is doubtless

Giovanni Paolo Mariscotti, whose name, with the date, 1600 (? 1650), is in the ornament of the pilaster, near the fresco. There are no drawings for this picture in existence. The red chalk drawing of a triton and the back of a female, frame XXXV., No. 10, in the Venice Academy, is a copy. A copy of the "Galatea," on canvas, in oil, assigned to Giulio Romano, in the Academy of St. Luke at Rome, is not, technically speaking, of the 16th century; nor is there any likelihood that it is the copy by Pietro da Cortona noticed in Passeri's *Lives of Painters*: fol. Rome, 1772, p. 400.

nations of energy and faint-heartedness; in both, similar reliance on the lessons of the antique, similar manifestations of the painter's genius in applying the principles of monumental art, and much trust in the labour of assistants. But whilst Giulio was employed at the Lungara and the Vatican, his services could not be secured for the church of the Pace; and Raphael sent for Timoteo Viti, whose powers were not equal to those of the trained journeymen taught by long practice to accommodate themselves to the peculiarities of Raphael's manner.

Vasari tells us in one place that the cartoons and frescos of the sibyls and prophets at the Pace were executed by Raphael after a stealthy visit to the Sistine Chapel of which Michaelangelo had the keys.\* The same story, repeated in the life of Sebastian del Piombo, is qualified in that of Timoteo Viti by the assertion that Viti was the author of the sibyls which were painted after the public exhibition of the Sistine ceiling.† It is unnecessary to reconcile these divergences, as the frescos themselves reveal that Viti painted the prophets in the upper courses of the chapel, and only worked at subordinate parts of the sibyls. Raphael's stealthy visit to the Sistine Chapel was unnecessary, since the public had already been admitted to view it in the summer of 1511. The finished design for the whole decoration was probably put together by a pupil under Raphael's superintend-

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\* Vas. viii. pp. 22 and 54.

† Vas. viii. p. 151; x. p. 55; and xii. p. 191.



ence. That of the sibyls is still in existence in a bad state of preservation at Oxford,\* but the cartoons have not been preserved,† and little remains but the numerous studies from Raphael's own pencil to show that the preliminary outlines for the prophets and sibyls were both prepared by himself.

The grand symmetry of the arrangement in the frescos of the Pace has been acknowledged by the taste of consecutive ages. Vasari says they were considered the best and finest of Raphael's works; and Burckhardt thought that the balance and distribution of the parts, and the grandeur of the forms and expression, must needs make the sibyls the favourite of every spectator.‡ The upper course, divided by the window of the chapel, is filled with fine apparitions of Isaiah and Daniel, who sit with large tablets in their hands, attended by draped seraphs at the verge of the composition. Jonas and David stand at each side of the opening, with angels in flight near their heads. All the figures are detached in front of a panelling of stone, divided by pilasters, with pediments and cornice.

\* Oxford. University. Guise Collection. Christchurch. Washed drawing, heightened with white. 15½ in. h. by 35½. This drawing or *cartoncino* is so changed from its original state that no opinion can be formed as to its genuineness. It may have been a clean copy made by one of Raphael's pupils. It exactly coincides with the fresco.

† Padre Resta (see Bottari, *Lettere*, ii. p. 112), in a letter ad-

dressed to his friend Gaburri, in 1704, says he bought the cartoons of the sibyls, part at Nürenberg, part at Messina. There are traces of their having once been in the Ducal Palace at Urbino (Gasp. Celio. *Memoria* : Napoli, 1638, in *Pass.* ii. 139). But they are not discoverable now.

‡ Vas. viii. 22. Burckhardt's *Cicerone*.

The rectangular face below is broken by the arch of a niche, on the key of which a child kneels with a flaming torch in his hand. To the left, the sibyl of Cumæ reposes with a volume on her lap. Her right hand points to the prophetic scroll, held open by a hovering angel. A winged boy to her left drops his chin on his hand and his elbow on a graven stone. Near the Cuman, the Persian sibyl leans against the arching, and, turning to the right, raises her finger to the tablet held up by a crouching seraph. As a counterpoise to this figure, another seraph sits to the right, and, raising the tablet, indicates one of the lines to the Phrygian seer who rests against the curve of the niche and turns to gaze at the prophecy. The sibyl of Tibur on the extreme right, with an open book on her knee, twists herself round by grasping the edge of her seat to read the words; and a winged boy lays one arm on a slab behind her whilst a seraph flies with a scroll above her. The study for Daniel at the Uffizi, with two winged children at his shoulders and the nude of the draped angel above him, combines in one sheet four different figures of the fresco. But none of the outlines coincide exactly with those of the picture. They are only first thoughts thrown off with great skill and spirit for Viti's guidance.\* A black chalk

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\* Uffizi. No. 544. Drawing in red chalk. Daniel and the seraph, half-lengths, the two angels full length. The head of Daniel, more in profile than it is in the fresco, the dress a model's jerkin, with the

sleeve rolled up above the elbow. The angels are apparently not done from nature. One to the left is in profile, the other foreshortened, and seen frontwise.

drawing at Lille represents with equal mastery the angel above Jonas.\* Nothing more natural than to assume that Viti, with these and other Raphaelic sketches before him, made the cartoons for the prophets which he bequeathed to his descendants.† Raphael's studies for the sibyls are as clever as those for the prophets. The same style and mastery characterises them all. The models who sat for the woman of Cumæ and her satellite appear before us in a pen sketch at the Albertina. The hand and arm of the first in the large mould of Michaelangelo, and the more feminine shape of the second raising the scroll, are all that Raphael thought worth recording ; all indeed that he was able to steal from the reality.‡ The genius of the artist comes out conspicuously when he combines the parts that were studied from nature with those which involved a call on his imagination. No one could have transfigured, as Raphael did in the fresco, the contours and flesh of a Roman peasant girl into the graceful swoop of a draped seraph. Looking

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\* Lille Museum. No. 690. Black chalk, heightened with white. 0·238 h. by 0·175. The angel flying with his left leg down and the right bent holds something in his hand. He looks down over his right shoulder. A very broad and spirited study.

† Vas. viii. p. 151. Richardson (Account, &c., u. s. p. 104) says his father possessed the drawing of the "David" or "Daniel," and a copy by Rubens of the Isaiah and Jonas. The latter may be identical with

the drawing mentioned by Passavant, ii. p. 142, as being in the C. Jennings and R. P. Knight Collections.

‡ Vienna. Albertina. Red chalk. 8½ in. h. by 8¼. The forms of the sibyl's arm and hand are of the muscular type, of which the original mould was invented by Michaelangelo. The angel is dressed in the cap and undergarment of a female. The head is thrown back more frankly than it is in the fresco.

back into the past, he remembered the angels which he had depicted under the canopy of the "Madonna del Baldacchino," and those attending the Eternal in the "Moses" of the Chamber of Heliodorus. His purpose in returning to the model was to avoid reproducing mechanically what his memory must needs yield in a conventional form. The truth and honesty of Raphael are in contrast with the strain and exaggeration of Michaelangelo whose most majestic shapes were all efforts to force nature beyond its ordinary limits. But the change accomplished in this surprising way was not brought about without much pondering and forethought; and the creation of an ideal fitted for a place in the picture was only carried out in a sketch at Chantilly, where a few spirited strokes of the pen first construct the nude in its complete state, then fit the tunic round the shoulders and the flowing vestments on the body and limbs.\* With respect to other figures we possess but partial evidence of the same generative process; for instance the sibyl of Tibur at the Albertina, a magnificent fragment of great power and breadth, agreeing in every line with the fresco, and equal in energy to anything that Michaelangelo ever produced;† and a red chalk study at

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\* Chantilly. Collection of the Duc d'Aumale. Red chalk. 0·255 h. by 0·400. Bottom of the sheet, the body, arms, and head separate, the head bent backwards to the right. Above that the whole nude, with wings and the head at three-quarters to the left. To the right

the drapery to the shoulders.

A replica of this drawing is in the Albertina. 10½ in. h. by 14. Another copy, 13 in. h. by 8½, red chalk, is No. 97 in the Oxford Museum.

† Albertina. Vienna. Red chalk. 10½ in. h. by 6½. A copy

Oxford preliminary to the final embodiment of the Phrygian Sibyl with statuesque drapery in the fashion of the Greeks. In the first instance, the fragment preserved represents the close, in the second the opening, of the process. What Raphael kept of the first sketch for the Phrygian sibyl was the action and drapery of the legs. The twist of the body to one side, the turn of the head to the other, and the arm pointing across the frame to the left, were all sacrificed to the necessities of pictorial harmony.\* The Phrygian sibyl in the fresco looks round to the left. Her right arm rests on the curve of the niche, and the drapery thus loses some of the elegance of its original cast.

The prophets of the Chigi Chapel only claim attention as productions of Timoteo Viti on Raphael's lines.

at the Brera on grey paper, with a study of the profile of the head on one side, an outline of the boy leaning on the tablet, and the hand of the Phrygian Sibyl is evidently taken from the fresco.

\* Oxford. No. 96. Red chalk. 14½ in. h. by 7½. The antique type of the figure in this sheet recalls the period of the studies for the "Parnassus." But the masculine form, and the greater breadth of the execution, point to a later time; and the turban round the head is of the period of the "Alba Madonna." The treatment, too, is very powerful and bold. A late copy in the Uffizi came from the Santarelli Collection.

A sibyl and angel, sepia heightened with white, was exhibited at

the Grosvenor Gallery in 1878-9, No. 523, as the property of Mr. James Knowles. Its genuineness is doubtful.

A drawing of the Persian sibyl, with the angel and the boy on the key of the arch of the niche, was once in the Wellesley Collection at Oxford. This also is a sepia heightened with white. But treacherous memory forbids us to affirm, that this drawing is identical with that of Mr. Knowles, or that it was an original by Raphael.

Passavant doubts the originality of a drawing (washed in sepia) of the sibyls in the Collection of Stockholm, in which the Tiburtine differs from that in the fresco (Pass. ii. p. 142).

In the figure of Isaiah we are reminded of the colossal proportions which give so much character to the fresco of Sant' Agostino. But the art of the creator of these forms is lost in the superficial labour of his pupil.\*

The sibyls undoubtedly suggest the influence of Michaelangelo. Yet it is well to note the bias of an unfair critic when Vasari observes that the grandeur of the figures is entirely due to study in the Sistine Chapel.† Raphael at the Pace is not exclusively addicted to the Roman form of Michaelangelo's art. He is equally affected by its earlier Florentine development. Elements purely his are commingled with

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\* In 1627 the frescos of the Capella Chigi were so injured that the visiting prelate ordered them to be restored. None of the authorities of the church knew that the chapel belonged to the Chigi family (Letters of Fabio Chigi, Sept. 11, 1627, in Cugnoni, *u. s.* 153). Fabio Chigi found the frescos all covered with spots, caused by the oil-paper of an artist who had taken tracings of the figures. His remedy was to have them cleaned under the superintendence of the painters Lanfranco, Giuseppe d'Arpino, Orazio and Falarì of Sienna, who rubbed them with bread, and varnished them with white of egg. What escaped this first restoring was finished by Palmaroli at the beginning of the present century (see Cugnoni, *u. s.* 153-7 and 163; and Fea's Prodomo, 1816, p. 43). The outlines originally scored in the plaster are now thoroughly black. By many successive patch-

ings the background has been darkened. The heads of Isaiah and Daniel, and the figures of the angels, have all been disfigured. Much of the drapery has lost its colour; but enough remains to show that the drawing was hard, the colour rusty and crude in flesh and gaudy in the vestments, and the balance of light and shade was defective from the first. Fabio Chigi, not knowing better, says, in one of his letters, that the prophets were by Rosso Fiorentino (Rome, January 15, 1628, in Cugnoni, p. 155). But he was confounding the frescos of the Chigi Chapel with those of Rosso, in a neighbouring (Cesi) chapel, which were contracted for on the 26th of Aug., 1524 (Vas. Sansoni ed., *u. s.* v. p. 162), and were subsequently replaced by statues and scenes from the lives of Adam and Eve, by Filippo Lauri.

† Vas. viii. 23 and 54.

those which he derived from the antique and the Romans and Tuscans. But the strain and exaggeration of Buonarrotti are carefully and successfully avoided. Where grand conception and shape and monumental design most recall the figures of the Sixtine is in the sibyl of Tibur, which students of all ages have proclaimed their favourite.\* The Phrygian reminds us also of the grand conventionalism of Michaelangelo; but the echoes which these masterpieces produce are almost lost in Raphael's own harmonies. The first no doubt combines the instant energetic action, the massive style and sculptural drapery which are conspicuous in the greatest of all the Florentines; but the type, the features and dress are those which we trace to the St. Elizabeth of the "Canigiani Madonna," the wife of Noah in the Chamber of Heliodorus, and the St. Elizabeth of the Impannata. The Phrygian sibyl, though supernaturally robust, is embellished by Raphael's grace and feeling for ideal female loveliness. The cherub kneeling on the keystone of the niche,—a boy cast in the purest mould of Raphael,—is not unlike the Infant Christ in Michaelangelo's celebrated round at Florence. But the attitude and the parts are those of the young Baptist of the "Esterhazy Madonna," or the Infant Christ of the "Madonna di Foligno." Set between the crouching and bending seraphs at his sides, he completes a fine symmetrical group. Nothing

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\* Of all the figures the sibyl of Tibur is that most injured by copyists who took tracings from the wall with oiled paper. The

unctuous fluid has frequently passed from the paper to the plaster. See Fabio Chigi, *u. s.* in Cugnoni, p. 157.

can be nobler than the Persian sibyl leaning against the curve of the arch, and resting herself on one arm to raise the other towards the tablet. The grandeur of the attitude and vestments are rendered still more impressive by features of ideal beauty and a winning look peculiar to Raphael. But if we reverse the outline of the body, the head, and the right arm, we get the exact counterpart of the Virgin of Michaelangelo's "Holy Family" at the Uffizi. The Cuman sibyl, equally exhibits progress in the development of the frame and limbs, yet it still preserves the unique charm of the justice and moderation of the Segnatura. The style of the composition is altogether related to that of Raphael in 1511. The seraphs in flight represent the genius of the man who composed the "Madonna del Baldacchino" in 1508, and the "Sacrifice of Abraham" in 1510. Their crouching colleagues in the arching of the niche are marvellous adaptations of the classic and Florentine, chastened by elegance of action and movement.\*

\* The same process was followed for the sibyls as for the prophets. The architectural background, of which the lines are still in the plaster, were obliterated, and replaced by a dull neutral colour. The tints were modified by repainting in several places, and the forms, expression, and outlines were enfeebled. Some fragments of colour have been taken bodily out of the head of the flying angel to the left; and the hands and

feet of the sibyls have all been repainted. The same process disfigured the dress of the Phrygian and Tiburtine prophetess. To Palmaroli we may assign the stippled work, which impairs the beauty of the Cuman sibyl and the angel near her. Yet enough remains to show the talent of Raphael, and distinguish parts, chiefly in drapery, where the weak hand of Timoteo Viti was laid.



Comparisons of this kind will bear almost unlimited extension. The two boy angels with their tablets are twin brothers to that in the foreground of the "Madonna di Foligno." The draped seraphs in the air are relatives of those in the "Moses" of the Chamber of Heliodorus. But the balance of light and dark, and of one figure with the other, produces such an artful, symmetrical, yet natural, intertress, that the eye rests upon it with perfect satisfaction. We regret that time and accidents should have obliterated the lines of the architecture upon which this noble composition was thrown. Nor can we wonder that, when Chigi asked Raphael to name his price, and Raphael said he would bow to the judgment of Michaelangelo, Buonarrotti came and valued the head of each sibyl at a hundred ducats.\* Was it envy or admiration that then filled the mind of the great artist of the Sixtine when he witnessed the transformation of his own masterpieces into something new and admirable by the genius of his younger rival?

A letter written to Marcantonio Michiel, in 1524, describes the "Madonna del Pesce" in the chapel of Giovanni Battista del Duco at San Domenico of Naples.† The name of Del Duco is new to the annals of painting; but its influence must have been great to accomplish the feat of concentrating Raphael's power on a picture entirely by himself. Waagen

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\* Chigi, MS., in Cugnoni, p. 44; and Bocchi, Bellezze della Città di Firenze: Fir. 1677, p. 278.

† Memorie dell' Istituto Veneto,

1860, p. 413, and Müntz's Raphael, p. 400. The letter is dated the 20th of March.

has noticed the cleverness with which the master brought the principal group of the Virgin and Child into dramatic relation with the saints at her feet. But he properly reminds us that in order to understand the distribution, it is necessary to remember that the altar for which the picture was painted belonged to the Dominican order; which held the memory of St. Jerom in special veneration, and gave ready welcome to those who offered prayers for the healing of diseased eyes.\* The archangel Raphael is the guardian of Tobias who begged for the cure of his father's blindness. The sublime benignity with which Mary looks down at her humble petitioner, and the kindliness with which the Infant Christ gives him a blessing, show that the wish has been granted; the child's left arm on the book of St. Jerom, who kneels to the right, connects him in thought with the subject which the father was studying. Raphael not only conveys that Jerom was interrupted, but he also suggests that the interruption is momentary; and this is beautifully expressed in the face of the saint, who looks up from the page with merely a passing glance. In the winged angel, two currents of feeling are embodied, the devout sentiment of earlier Christian art, and the longing peculiar to the Umbrian school. Mary, a model of loveliness and majesty, is in fine contrast with the stern severity of Jerom.† In-

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\* Waagen. *Über den Künstlerischen Bildungsgang Raphael's*, p. 23.

† An old copy of the "Madonna

del Pesce," still in a room near the sacristy of San Paolo de' Teatini at Naples, is always shown with the remark that the "St. Jerom"

tellectual power is splendidly illustrated in the conception of a father of the Church, whose vigour is proof against vigils and fasting, and whose long beard and spare locks give note of age without loss of energy or strength. The type is one of the most appropriate that Raphael ever created. The timid way in which Tobias kneels, holding the fish by a string, is as well rendered as the movement of the angel who brings his half reluctant hand in contact with the Virgin's mantle; Christ displays an eager desire to approach and encourage Tobias. The broad draping of the Virgin's form and the regal seat on which she reposes are full of majesty; her feet rest on a plinth, to which a smaller step gives access; the large folds of a hanging shield her from the deep blue sky, against which St. Jerom is relieved. Pigments of spotless lustre and richness produce a sparkling brightness, and subtle modulations of wheaten light and opal transitions into warm olive shadows combine with massive balancing of chiaroscuro to produce effective rounding. It is rare to find Raphael produce a more brilliant polish or more softness and flexibility of flesh; pure form is united to elevation, beauty, and graceful gesture. Unlike the "Madonna di Foligno," which presents inequalities of execution due to assistants, the "Madonna del Pesce" is perfect in concentration as well as in drawing, colour, and treatment.\*

is a portrait of Bembo. See Catalani, *Chiese di Napoli*: 8vo, Napoli, i. p. 118.

\* Madrid Museum. No. 365. Wood transferred to canvas. 2 m. 12 h. by 1.58. The picture was

Raphael was prepared by constant thought for the creation of this masterpiece. The first impressions of it are found in a sheet of sketches at the Albertina, in which fragments of a Virgin and Child, and St. Jerom reading a book near the profile of another saint, are thrown together in the manner of Fra Bartolommeo;\* but the whole group, in the daily working dress of models, at the Uffizi, gives the form of the composition in its broader lines. The centre of vision is moved to one side, St. Jerom not as yet

taken from the convent of San Domenico at Naples, by the Spanish Viceroy, Duke of Medina, in 1638, with the connivance of the General of the Dominicans. The Duke of Medina carried the picture away to Madrid in 1644; it passed out of his hands into those of Philip IV. (1645), who placed it in the Escorial. It was taken to Paris after the invasion of Spain in 1813, and was there transferred to canvas. It was returned in 1822. Passavant (ii. 126) suggests an early restoration of the picture, when he remarks that the lace ruffle on St. Jerom's wrist is a Spanish addition. The panel was not transferred to canvas without injury to the surface. Some parts were abraded, others retouched. There were three splits in the panel: one running vertically down the hair of the angel and the profile of Tobias, another through the face of the Infant Christ, a third down his arm. Patches of retouching are most conspicuous in the green curtain, the blue mantle,

on the Virgin's knee, the right hands of the angel and Christ, and the left hand of Tobias. The colours of the draperies are the traditional ones—St. Jerom in red, the angel and Tobias in two shades of yellow, the Virgin's tunic red, and the cloth round Christ's waist striped. The lion at St. Jerom's feet is at rest. Besides the copy already mentioned at San Paolo, there is another above the portal in San Lorenzo Maggiore at Naples. Passavant notices a third in the Museum of Valladolid (ii. 127). There is another in the Escorial. See also Vas. viii. p. 30; ix. 93.

\* Vienna. Albertina. Rapid sketch of a Virgin with a diadem on her head, in profile to the left. To the left the face and shoulders of a saint bending forward; to the right the profile of a man looking away from the Virgin. Above the latter a bearded saint with a book in his right hand, at three-quarters to the right.

in the grand shape which came into the picture; the place of the Infant Christ is represented by a bolster in the arms of a peasant who wears a cap and smock.\*

Some of the majesty which dwells in the "Madonna del Pesce" was transferred into a picture of the same period, called the "Madonna de' Candelabri." When the gallery of the last of the princes of Lucca was sold in 1841, the picture was purchased by Mr. Munro, who changed the name of Giulio Romano to that of Raphael. There was some justification for this in the beauty of a composition which attested in every line the genius of the master of Urbino. The "Madonna de' Candelabri" is a round in which the Virgin is represented with her head at three-quarters to the right. She is seen to the waist, looking down at some invisible petitioner, whilst her left hand supports the infant sitting on a cushion before her; with one of his hands on her shoulder, the other thrust into

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\* Florence. Uffizi. No. 524. Red chalk study. Though Passavant doubts the genuineness of the drawing, and at first sight it suggests the name of Andrea del Sarto, yet, on closer examination, it will bear being assigned to Raphael, in one of his facile moods. The Virgin here sits in an armchair, her face in full front, and her glance directed downwards to Tobias. The angel's glance, not his face, is raised to the Madonna. Tobias does not carry the fish. St. Jerom, with a short-cut beard, looks at his book.

A design of the composition, as we find it in the picture, but reversed, is in the British Museum. It is feeble, and looks like the work of an engraver. From the Payne - Knight Collection. Can this be the drawing of the Collection of King William of Holland, which was in the Lawrence Collection, and is mentioned as spurious by Passavant (Raph. ii. 127)?

A sketch of the head of Tobias in black chalk, of doubtful originality, is in the print-room of the Berlin Museum. Passavant (ii. p. 448) thought it genuine.

the folds of a blue-grey mantle drawn across her throat, the bare feet looped together, he darts a cheerful and laughing glance at the spectator. It is easy to see that reminiscences of the Florentine period are engrafted on a picture of the Roman time. The action of the child prefigures that of the "Madonna della Sedia," and the forms of the face and arm of the Virgin are a mere reversal of those in the "Madonna of the Fish;" whilst the varieties which distinguish the two pictures are confined to the striping and colour of the veil. But the solemn grandeur of the lines in the "Madonna of the Fish" is enhanced by the masterly touch of the creator, whereas the noble conception of the "Madonna de' Candelabri" is enfeebled by disciples whose inferior work is partially lost under the touches of restorers. It is hard to say what effect the two heads of angels, symmetrically placed, with lamps in their hands, at the shoulders of the Virgin, may have had in their original aspect. Raphael's pencil may possibly be traced in the forehead and eyes of the Madonna. That of Giulio Romano is still distinct in the Virgin's hand as well as in the outlines and modelling of the Infant Christ.\*

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\* Munro — Novar Collection. London. Wood. Round of 2 ft. in diameter. The picture passed through the Borghese and Lucien Buonaparte Collections before it came to Lucca. At Christie's, in London, on the 1st of June, 1878, it was bought in for £19,500. At the close of Dec., 1882, it was

exhibited for sale in the Art Institute at New York, at the price of 200,000 dollars. The figures have all suffered. But the most injured parts are the left foot of the Infant Christ, and the faces and hands of the angels, which are now all out of drawing. The background is very dark. The panel

The "Madonna della Sedia" in the Pitti, at Florence, is obviously a picture contemporary with the frescos of the Chamber of Heliodorus, which it resembles in its combination of Raphaele form with a colour almost Venetian in its richness. It has all the breadth of shape for which the "Madonna del Pesce" is remarkable, with a softer and more mellow treatment. To a simple or æsthetic mind, it appeals as surely as to the sceptic and devout, being modest in subject, and merely representing on a circular panel the Virgin seated in a chair, the boy Christ pressed to her bosom, and the youthful St. John praying at her side. The space is so cleverly divided, the colours seem so beautifully harmonized, and the forms so magically modelled by Raphael's own hand; the faces are so pure, their look so full of divine inspiration, that criticism is naturally silent; and yet it might be shown that, like all mortal things, the "Madonna della Sedia" has at least one blemish. If the skill of the painter consists in the successful array of figures, gracefully fitted to the space at his

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bulges vertically in the centre. The history of the picture, previous to its appearance in the Borghese Collection at Rome, is unknown. Two drawings recalling the "Madonna de' Candelabri" are now in the British Museum and the Lille Museum (No. 693). See *antea*, vol. i., notes to pp. 359-360.

An old copy, with the Virgin in a brown veil, was exhibited in 1878, at the Kensington Museum.

It belonged to Mr. Robinson.

Another, feebler copy, ascribed to Innocenzo da Imola, was shown at the same place. It was the property of Mr. Forbes. Whether either of these pieces is identical with that known to have belonged to Mr. Agar, in London, it was impossible to ascertain. But see Passavant, ii. 243; and Pungileoni, Timoteo Viti, p. 73; and Nibby's Rome.

command, it sometimes occurs that his purpose is attained by some sacrifice of nature to art. Viewed in this light, the "Madonna della Sedia" is not perfect. If we analyse the movements, we find that the Virgin is turned to the right with the nearest leg lowered and the further leg raised. The infant Christ sits in profile to the left on the first, and the boy Baptist rests his joined hands on the knee of the second. Nature would rebel against the discomfort of a movement which throws an entire limb out of place, and almost disconnects it from the frame to which it is attached. But no one seeks, few discover, the defect which lies concealed under marvellous qualities. The hands of the Virgin rest on each other as she encircles in her soft yet powerful grasp the plump form of the boy Redeemer. He scratches the heel of the right foot with the big toe of the left, leans his elbow on the small of his mother's arm, and thrusts his wrist into the variegated shawl which covers her shoulders and throat. Her head, adorned with golden chestnut hair, in a striped cloth, is lovingly bent to the infant's forehead, so that the two faces are seen at three-quarters in contrary senses. The glance of both is directed to something in front of the picture, yet not to the same object. The mother's look is fathomless in its dreamy depth; that of the child inspired; and he seems instinctively to know that the Baptist is looking up at him with the reed cross in his grasp. In the first impression of the subject, which Raphael hastily sketched on the same sheet as the "Alba Madonna," at Lille, the com-



position was set in a square, the cheek of Christ being level with that of the Virgin, and his arm almost round her neck. The change required to bring the group into a circular panel led to the altered arrangement which Raphael so ably worked out. We look back at Michaelangelo's round at the Uffizi, to compare it with Raphael's round at the Pitti. There is some inevitable strain and conventionalism in both. But how different is the power of the first, who surprises us by the force and vehemence of his creation, and the grace of the second, who conceals the strain under incomparable charms of form, expression, and tone! There are few pictures by Raphael which do not delight us by harmony of tints. The "Madonna della Sedia" proclaims Raphael a colourist, akin to the Venetians in the glow of his flesh, and the crystal purity and brightness of his pigments. His skill in modelling flesh outlined with absolute correctness, the grace which he throws into large-built shapes, and the purity which he imparts to ideal features are all admirable. We may presume that Raphael painted this picture either for Leo X., or for some of the Medici, after the completion of the "Heliodorus" and "Mass of Bolsena." It was exhibited as far back as 1589, in the Tribune of the Uffizi at Florence.\*

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\* Pitti. No. 79. Wood. Half-lengths. 1 braccio, 4 soldi, 6 danari, or m. 0.715 in diameter (2 ft. 4½ Brit.). Registered in the Florentine inventory of 1589 (Gotti, *Galerie di Firenze*, u. s. p.

81 and p. 327). The Virgin sits on a folding-chair, of which the upright arm is turned in a varied series of curves, the band uniting the arms being embroidered and fringed. The head-dress of the

One of Raphael's disciples displayed his ingenuity by producing the celebrated paraphrase, if we may so call it, known as the "Madonna della Tenda" at Munich, where the profile of the Virgin and the foreshortened face of the infant Saviour reveal the hand of an imitator working on the master's lines. It was difficult for such an imitator not to preserve some of the beauties of the original, and the large forms of the three figures at Munich are modelled in some measure on those of the Madonna at Florence, but the shapes are cast in a common mould, and we cannot attribute the "Madonna della Tenda" to any of the master's Roman disciples. It seems more likely that Domenico Alfani, who dwelt for half a century as a local painter at Perugia, became possessed of one of Raphael's designs, from which he formed a picture. Alfani was long connected with Raphael, as we have

Virgin is yellow, with stripes; the shawl brown, crossed with stripes of green, red, and yellow; the sleeve red. The Infant Christ's tunic yellow, shaded off with orange; the mantle of the Virgin blue; the background brown. The whole picture has been injured by cleaning and restoring. But the retouches of most importance are those on the cheek and shadow of the Virgin's neck, the cheek, the hair and arm of the boy Christ, and the face and hands and grey fur tunic of the Baptist. Passavant records an oral tradition according to which the cartoon was once in possession of the In-

ghirami family at Volterra, and (1818) passed into the hands of "Count Looz." He also records from oral information that a cartoon of the composition in a square form, with full-length figures in black chalk, was once in the Sierakowski Collection at Warsaw (Pass. Raphael, ii. 240).

The sketches to which allusion is made in the text are in a sheet with designs for the "Madonna di Casa d' Alba." No. 739 at Lille. See *antea*.

It is impossible to enumerate the copies of the "Madonna della Sedia." They are all unimportant.

seen. He painted an altarpiece in the Collegio Gregoriano of Perugia in 1518, in which reminiscences of the Rogers Madonna are preserved. A fresco in the church of St. Francis, at Bettona, recalls the "Madonna della Tenda" in the profile of the Virgin's head and the movement of her arm. But before Alfani could have obtained the cartoon, it must have passed through the hands of several artists, the most able of whom may have been Perino del Vaga, or one of his followers, who brought to completion the replica of the "Madonna della Tenda," now at Turin. The Florentine reminiscences in the Madonna at Munich betray the influence of an art not entirely local, and the picture may have been executed by Alfani after Rosso's visit to Perugia in 1527.\*

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\* Munich. Pinakothek. No. 1050. Kneepiece. Wood. 0.68 m. h. by 0.55. The Virgin sits in profile to the right, with the Infant in her arms. Her face bends downwards, but her look is directed to the boy Baptist at her knee, whose face is relieved against a clouded sky, which is partly intercepted by a green curtain. The Virgin wears a veil over her forehead, upon which a red cloth with yellow lights and edged with gold is twisted. Her tunic is red, the mantle blue. Her left hand is on the Baptist's left shoulder. The Infant Christ struggles with both legs to rise, and throws his head back to look round at St. John. The picture has been disfigured by retouches in the neck and profile

of the Virgin, the dark shadows of the face, the back, and legs and feet of the Infant Christ. But in the parts that have been least injured, the flesh tint is marked by a glazed and empty transparency, and an absence of modulations, which give it the aspect of porcelain, and the tone generally is shiny and reddish. Waagen's opinion (*Jahrbücher* ed. Zahn. i. 35) that the picture is by Perino del Vaga would apply with greater force to the replica at the Turin Museum, of which we shall presently speak. The panel appears to have once been at the Escorial (Don Antonio Conca, *Descr. Odep. della Spagna*, ap. Pass. ii. 242). According to Buchanan it was taken to France, where it was pur-

Raphael's generosity in making presents of his drawings and cartoons is well known. The cartoon of the "Madonna della Sedia" is said to have been an heirloom in the family of Inghirami, and this might lead us to suppose that the gift of it was made by Raphael to the prelate, whose portrait he painted about the same time. Tommaso Inghirami was nicknamed Phedra for his cleverness in improvising verses, but his advancement was due to sterling qualities. Julius II. made him Bishop of Ragusa and librarian of the Vatican. He was the favourite preacher of the Sistine Chapel, and acted as secretary to the conclave of 1513 and the council of the Lateran. It was in the dress of these offices that

chased by Sir Thomas Baring for £4,000. It was sold out of the Baring Collection in 1814 for £5,000 to the Prince Royal Ludwig of Bavaria.

Turin Museum. No. 373. Wood. 0·79 h. by 0·56. This panel belonged (1830) to the family of the Counts Maffei di Broglio, having been bequeathed to the daughter of the Countess Piosasco Porporati, who married a Broglio. Originally it belonged to Cardinal delle Lanze, who gave it to the Countess Piosasco. Mr. Boucheron, a painter, bought it from the Broglios in 1834, and transferred it for 75,000 fr. to Charles Albert, then Prince of Carignan. This panel seems done from the same cartoon as the Munich example. But the execution is more in the style of a Florentine, and the manner is that of Perino del Vaga

or one of his imitators, though some difficulty is created in judging the picture by the injuries it has received.

Another replica, assigned to Raphael, is now in Rome, and is supposed to be identical with one once in the hands of Signor Giogello Piacenza. But it is of inferior quality.

Another, again, belongs to Signor Cavaliere Brunone Davisio in Rome, and is vouched for as an original by the Roman Academy of San Luca. But it is not as good as the Munich or Turin examples (see *Certificati di Originalità della Madonna della Tenda*: Roma, 1874, Tipografia Botta). For other copies see Pass. ii. 243. Passavant's assertion that a drawing at Chatsworth is the first sketch of the "Madonna della Tenda" is obviously a *lapsus calami*.

his portrait was painted by Raphael, in a splendid picture, now at the Pitti. An attentive comparison of this likeness with the "Madonna della Sedia," which hangs near it, will show that the two pictures were executed with the same breadth of modelling, the same subtle gradations of tone and uncommon blending of surface. Phedra was obese by nature, and bloated by sedentary habits. His shape is round, his ringed hand puffy and swollen. But his right eye is disfigured by a cast, which drags the pupil upwards, and Raphael gave the squint with curious realism, working out the large masses of the cheeks and the dimples in the fingers with equal delicacy and correctness. The very functions of the secretary and sermon writer are suggested by the prelate's surroundings. He is seen at his desk, with an open book, a sheet of white paper, and an inkhorn before him. His head is covered almost to the eyebrows with a red cap; his form encased in a red robe, bound at the waist by a yellow sash, relieved at the throat by an edge of white shirt-collar. The left hand lies on the paper, the pen is in the right. He looks up as if meditating the words he is about to write; a green curtain on the wall behind him, a table covered with a green and yellow cloth, woven into a pattern, indicate a study. The portrait is executed with marvellous truth and delicacy, and, in spite of the ravages of restoring, the broad and skilful treatment of the rolling flesh, the humour in the whites of the eyes, the expression, are still admirable. The finish is as minute as Holbein's, the outline as

conscientious as Van Eyck's, and the rounding perfect in its accuracy. Bright lights, and soft transitions from glazed olive shadow to opal half-tints, are the work of a master.

Leo X. doubtless coveted and obtained this beautiful picture from Inghirami himself. It came at some unknown period into the gallery of Florence. But before he gave it up Inghirami procured a copy, which still remains in the house of his family at Volterra, where it passes, not unnaturally, for an original replica.\*

We seldom find occasion to compare the labours of Raphael in two distinct masterpieces, such as the "Madonna della Sedia" and the portrait of Inghirami. In the first nature is consulted for an ideal as noble as ever painter created; in the second nature itself is brought out with the fidelity of a Fleming, yet with the elevated feeling which in most of the Flemings was altogether deficient.

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\* Pitti. No. 171. Wood, half-length. Braccia l. 10. 8 h. by l. l. 6 or 0.91 h. by 0.61. This picture has been damaged by mending, washing, and repainting. The green curtain has been covered with opaque pigments, which have not spared the outline of the cheek. The red robe and the hands bear marks of repair. A general cleaning preceded these operations, which were to some extent necessary, in consequence of a split which runs vertically down the face to the right of the nose,

and the frame to the left hand. Though the delicate glazings of Raphael were not entirely removed, enough was carried away to give the picture a bleached look.

Volterra. Casa Inghirami. The replica here is better preserved and more coloured than the original at the Pitti. The general tone is warm and embrowned, and the drawing looks more firm and decided. But a close inspection reveals the hand of a copyist of Raphael's own time.

## CHAPTER V.

Retrospect.—Leo X.'s accession, his character, policy, and court.—Raphael in his relations to the Pope and those about him.—Luca Signorelli, the Medici, Giuliano, Giulio, and Lorenzo.—Bibienna and Bembo.—Effect of Michaelangelo's withdrawal from competition with Raphael as a painter.—Bramante's declining health, and measures taken to give him coadjutors.—Giuliano da San Gallo and Fra Giocondo.—Bramante dies.—Raphael appointed superintendent of St. Peter's, with San Gallo and Giocondo under him.—Story of the rebuilding of St. Peter's.—Rossellino.—Colossal plan of Bramante.—Gradual reduction of proportions.—Preservation of parts of the old church.—Its state in the first twenty years of the 16th century.—The Latin and Greek cross.—Raphael partisan of the former.—Of his talent as an architect.—Dependence on Bramante, and others.—What did Raphael achieve architecturally?—Private life and affairs after Bramante's death.—Raphael begins the Camera dell' Incendio (July 1, 1514).—Fire of the Borgo.—Share of Raphael, and his disciples.—Giulio, Penni, and Udine.—Buildings at Rome copied.—Battle of Ostia (1514–15).—Correspondence of Raphael with Dürer.—Impressions of the antique from the Trajan column and arch of Constantine.—Sebastian del Piombo.—Portraits and figures of Giulio de' Medici, Bibienna, and Leo X.—The cartoons and tapestries of the Sistine Chapel.—Marcantonio's "Judgment of Paris."

WE saw how the death of Julius II. was followed by the election of Leo X. We glided from one reign into the other, looking at Raphael as he turned the frescos composed in honour of a Rovere into pictures illustrating the fame of the Medici. We noted the clever intervention of Agostino Chigi and the cunning assent of Leo to measures which led to the painting of the Farnesina and the chapel of the Pace. Raphael

was observed as he worked alternately for patrons of different station, and spent his leisure in epistolary correspondence and the pursuit of pleasure. The letters which he wrote to Ciarla and Castiglione revealed some incidents of his life, his hopes and fears, and prospects of advancement. His relations to Leo X., the influence of the Pope's person, court, and surroundings deserve closer attention. It must not be forgotten that the accession of a new pontiff opened of itself a wide field for Raphael's aspirations, as it changed the relations of the court on the one hand to the crowd of literary men and artists on the other. To a Pope full of energy but contemptuous of luxury and accustomed to rigid economy, a pontiff succeeded who combined large views of policy with luxurious ideas and lavish expenditure. Leo was the princely representative of a great Florentine house in which the patronage of letters and art was traditionally held in honour. Accompanied to Rome by a host of relatives and friends whose ideas were entirely modelled on his own, courted by all the princes of Europe as the arbiter of peace and war, he gave promise of innumerable benefits to those who might be privileged to approach his person. Of all the factions which strove for power at the Vatican, none seemed likely to outstrip its rivals. Francesco Maria of Urbino, who had taken a prominent part in Leo's election, had been judiciously confirmed in his old rank. Alphonzo of Ferrara had ostentatiously been reconciled to the Church. Soderini, cardinal of Volterra, had been made to forget for a time that his family had been



ousted from power at Florence. Raphael Riario, the only cardinal whose conduct in the past might have given umbrage to the Medici, was treated with unusual respect. The policy of the Papacy was carried out with rare success; whilst French armies, which till then had threatened Italy, were expelled, after a signal victory, from the Peninsula. It was Raphael's luck to secure the interest of the Pope and his dependents, to the exclusion of all rivals, and to preserve the friendship of patrons but indirectly connected with the court. At the very opening of Leo's reign Luca Signorelli, a most dangerous competitor, appeared at the Papal court. He had painted splendid pictures in the Vatican chambers and the Sistine Chapel. He reminded the Pope of the protection which his ancestors had given him at Florence, and the dangers he had incurred by his fidelity to the house of Medici. But Leo turned a deaf ear to the lamentations of the painter of Cortona, who vainly squandered the money which he borrowed from Michaelangelo in the prosecution of his schemes.\* The utmost that he was able to achieve was Marcantonio's acceptance of a drawing from which the splendid print of "Hercules and Antæus" was adapted.† Leo was devoted to Raphael, he had seen him at work at the Vatican, and was willing to sit to

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\* Michaelangelo to the Captain of Cortona, in Heath Wilson, *Michaelangelo*, p. 197; and p. 3 of Seb. Ciampi, *Collection of Buonarrotti's letters*.

† This drawing, which Passa-

vant erroneously ascribes to Raphael, is outlined in chalk on grey paper, 10 in. h. by 5½, and is in the Windsor Collection. See *Pass.* ii. 491.

him again and again. Giuliano de' Medici was equally inclined to the artist, whose worth he had learned to value during his exile at Urbino, and he made Raphael one of the familiars of his household at Rome.\* Giulio and Lorenzo de' Medici were not less anxious than Giuliano to court immortality from so skilful a pencil. Amongst the Pope's advisers Bibiena was conspicuous as Raphael's friend and Bramante's patron, he also had been at Urbino, and wielded a paramount influence in the councils of the Pope.† Pietro Bembo, not very warm at first, because he wavered in allegiance between Raphael and Titian, soon learnt to favour the first when the second refused to abandon Venice. Yet neither the patronage of Pope nor prelates would have contributed much to improve the condition of a spoiled child of fortune, had not other circumstances combined to favour his advancement. Michaelangelo had been effectually removed from the field of competition by his obligation to complete the monument of Julius II. Bramante, whose position as an architect was perhaps the most brilliant that a man of his profession had ever held, showed symptoms of declining health and encouraged Raphael to expect the reversion of his place. A clever and judicious use of the occasion cannot be denied to Raphael.

Towards the close of 1513 Bramante's hands were palsied.‡ He obtained the appointment of two

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\* See a quotation from the records establishing this fact (Archives of Florence, 1515) in Müntz, *u. s.* p. 429.

† See Bibiena's reference to Bramante as a man of excessive shyness in the Calandra.

‡ Vas. x. p. 2.

coadjutors, Giuliano da San Gallo, once his rival, now his friend, and Fra Giocondo, whose fame as a builder and mathematician extended to the whole of North Italy and France.\* It was thought advisable to select men skilful enough to master Bramante's plans, and carry them on whilst their author still lived, but not too young to bar Raphael's promotion.† Giuliano da San Gallo, then suffering from an incurable disease, was seventy-one years old, when he entered on his duties at St. Peter's; Fra Giocondo, a "venerable relic of eighty-one," when he joined San Gallo at the same important period.‡

Both artists found ample occupation in providing remedies for accidents which threatened to occur: they had little leisure at first to change the plans which Julius II. had sanctioned. On the 11th of March, 1514, Bramante died, recommending Raphael to succeed him. He was accompanied to his grave in the crypt of St. Peter's "by all the sculptors, architects, and painters of Rome;" and we can picture to ourselves Raphael joining and heading the mournful procession.§

The Pope was determined that the Vatican chambers

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\* 1514, Jan. 1, to 1515, July 1. Payments to Giuliano da San Gallo as architect at St. Peter's, in Fea, *Notizie*, *u. s.* p. 12.

1514, Jan. 1, to 1515, March 27. Payments to Fra Giocondo in Fea, pp. 12 and 13. But Fea misprints the second of these dates.

† Scaliger (ap. Marchese, *Memorie*: 8vo, Genoa, 1869, ii. 240),

says that Fra Giocondo "*solus Bramantis architecti defuncti reliquias typorum atque consiliorum intellexit.*"

‡ See the following note.

§ B. Turini to Lorenzo de' Medici, March 12, 1514, in Gaye, *Carteggio*, ii. p. 135.; Bembo's Brief, *postea*; and Vasari, vii. 139.

should be finished, and Raphael began to paint the Camera dell' Incendio in June, 1514. But the recommendation of Bramante would not permit the pontiff to doubt the capacity of his favourite to direct the works of St. Peter's; and a brief was drafted, in which he was eulogized as second to none in the art of painting, yet capable, as Bramante testified, to continue the temple of the prince of the apostles. A model and estimates were prepared by Raphael and accepted by the Pope; and a salary of 300 ducats a year was attached to the office.\*

The models and estimates of Raphael have not been preserved, but most of the plans of Giuliano da San Gallo, Bramante, and his successors are still in existence, at the Uffizi of Florence, whilst a rough but incorrect copy of Raphael's scheme has also come down to us in the works of Sebastian Serlio.† In order to understand the complicated history of the building of St. Peter's, it is necessary to revert to the time when Nicholas V. first resolved to enlarge the basilica. The architect employed was Rossellino, who, without touching the walls of the older edifice, began by laying the foundations of a new tribune, which was carried outwards to a considerable distance, and raised above the ground to the height of six feet.‡ A reminiscence of this mighty beginning is preserved, as we have

\* The Brief, dated Aug. 1, 1514, is in Petri Bembi Epistolarum, Lugd. Bat. 1538, Lib. ix. ap. Pass. Raphael, i. pp. 196 and 505. Though the appointment is thus dated Aug. 1, it really occurred earlier. The

payments, in Fea (p. 9), begin on April 1, 1514.

† Tutte l'opere d' Architettura di S. Serlio, 1545, Cart. XXXVII.

‡ Condivi, u. s. p. 27.

thought, in the background of Raphael's "Disputa," which shows the grand projection of Rossellino's plan, leaving untouched the shallow apsis in which the altar of St. Peter was placed. Built in the form of a Latin cross, the old basilica covered a much smaller space than the present building. It was venerable on account of its age and the monuments which it inclosed, but ruinous and difficult to repair.\* Rossellino lengthened the upper vertical limb of the Latin cross, and provided for a proportional enlargement of the transept. His services came to an end with the death of Nicholas V., and fifty years elapsed before new plans were again discussed.

Bramante's first idea was nothing less than gigantic when compared with that of Rossellino. He proposed to double the length of the transept, projected the tribune to a considerable distance beyond that of Rossellino, and formed the whole edifice into a Greek cross covering a space of about 26,465 square yards. He soon abandoned these colossal dimensions and reduced his proportions to a more moderate scale.

But the difficulties with which he had to contend in laying the foundations of the new structure on the ruins of the old and the still mightier ruins of Rossellino were obviously great, and all the more so as the crypt of the basilica was not to be sacrificed. Within a few feet of each other he found new ground

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\* Alberti, in his *Architettura* (ed. of 1546, 8vo, Ven. p. 17), says "the basilica of St. Peter is exposed to the north wind, and ill

built; and the walls being six feet out of the perpendicular, there is reason to fear that the slightest accident might throw it down."

or fragments of foundations of various ages from the venerable remnants of the circus of Nero to those of the original church and the additions of Nicholas V. The obstacles which he must needs overcome in laying a secure bed for the four great pillars of the dome were not diminished by the necessity for preserving the apsis and Holy of holies where the altar of the apostle stood. Two of those pillars were founded at the corners of the aisles and transept, two others outside the apsis of the old basilica. The niche and altar of St. Peter remained as a sort of screen in front of the projected choir. It was perhaps inevitable that foundations laid under such circumstances should prove unsafe. Evidence of their insecurity was hardly obtained till the square of the dome was spanned, and this was about the time when Bramante's strength declined and commissions were given to Giuliano da San Gallo and Fra Giocondo. Vasari says that Antonio Picconi da San Gallo enlarged the pillars and gave them strength to bear the weight of the tribune, which had fissures and threatened to collapse even in Bramante's time. He filled the ground about the foundations with solid materials.\* Serlio describes the weakness of the pillars, the lightness of the corner weights, and the looseness of the ground. The inference from these statements is that measures became necessary to provide for the defects of Bramante's scheme. The time in which the corrections were made is not given.

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\* Vaa. x. 18.

Paris de Grassis often alludes in his diary to the disagreeable effects of the partial demolition of the basilica. In 1508 it was not habitable.\* On Easter Sunday and Ascension Day, 1510, the lights on the altar of St. Peter were put out by the wind.† At the mass of the Holy Spirit on the day of the conclave, it was found impracticable to seat the clergy in the transept "on account of the lamentable, detestable, and ruined condition of the building."‡ On the 2nd and 3rd of the following May the rain poured in torrents into the apsis, and Leo's remedy, which consisted in building a temporary structure over the altar of St. Peter, did not prevent the wind from extinguishing the tapers at the Whitsuntide mass. As late as the 31st of October, 1519, service was held in the Sistine "because the portico of St. Peter's was in ruins."§

Bramante's coadjutors and immediate successors bore the brunt of these complaints. They made good some of the defects of the foundations. Their principal care was to reduce the size and the expense of the building.|| The chief innovation was that

\* P. de Grassis' *Diarium*, u. s. ii. 190, 218, 220.

† *Ibid.* iii. 36 and 94.

‡ *Ibid.* iii. 1 and 2.

§ *Ibid.* iii. 101 and 842. John Fichard, a lawyer of Frankfort, went through St. Peter's in 1536, and describes it as being half of it roofless. "Leo," he says, "covered the high altar with a circular drum and cupola, round the cir-

cumference of which there were seats for the pontiff and cardinals." *Frankfurter Archiv für Literatur und Geschichte*, B. iii. 1815; in 2nd ed. of Springer's *Raphael and Michaelangelo*.

|| *Ib.* and Geymüller. "Erwiedrung auf Redtenbacher's Beiträge," in *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, vol. x. p. 249.

which Raphael introduced into the form of the edifice and his substitution of a Latin cross for the Greek cross which Bramante had so happily invented. Bembo's brief conveys the Pope's approval of the change. But the way in which Raphael worked out his design was severely criticized by contemporaries and condemned by Michaelangelo. Antonio Picconi da San Gallo ventured to call Raphael's aisle a lane; he pointed out defects in the ambulatories at the heads of the transept and choir, blamed the distribution of the weights on the pillars of the tribune, and the poverty of the cornices and their projections. But when Michaelangelo afterwards came to express an opinion on Picconi's own plans he dealt blows of quite another kind and called Antonio's model "food for beasts and oxen who knew nothing of architecture."\* In the midst of these amenities it is difficult to come to a final conclusion.† There is reason to believe that Raphael's talent as an architect, was more genial than profound. He became jealous of Giuliano Leno, who acted as treasurer and accountant and gained unbounded control over the works at St. Peter's. Yet as late as 1519, he was still unable to

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\* Vas. Annot. x. p. 18. Michaelangelo to B. Ammannati, Rome, 1555, in Heath Wilson, p. 479.

† We have read, with the attention which they deserve, the divergent views of Geymüller and Redtenbacher (Geymüller, Raffaello, Sanzio Studiato come Architetto, Milano, 1884; Redtenbacher, Beiträge zur Baugeschichte von

St. Peter in Rome), and are bound to acknowledge the profound study, especially of the first, in a question bristling with difficulty, but we cannot but think that Mr. von Geymüller has been carried away to some extent by enthusiastic admiration of Raphael's powers as an architect.



assert his thorough independence, which was fettered and controlled by the masters whose services he was supposed to command.\* How different was his position as a painter. Supreme in that field, he looked down on all his contemporaries, whilst in architecture he could only make designs which required to be worked out by the labour of others. His ignorance of the arcana of a profession to which he had not been bred is amply illustrated by his treatment of the Loggie which had been erected in two stories by Bramante. Without calculating the strength of the foundations Raphael built a third story in 1517, which shook the whole edifice by its weight, and Picconi was compelled to close the arches of the lower colonnade in order to prevent the downfall of the structure.†

If we survey the progress of Raphael in art during the first part of the 16th century, we find that he had no school knowledge of architecture. Bramante's friendship enabled him to enjoy the utmost freedom from labours for which he had apparently neither leisure nor inclination. During his stay in Umbria, he had sketched the outlines of cities, palaces and churches, and simply transferred to designs or pictures the views which his sketch-book contained. He

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\* Paulucci to the Duke of Ferrara. Rome, Dec. 17, 1519 (Campori. Notiz. u. s. p. 28). "Giuliano Leno, di Bramante domestico, molto valse nelle fabbriche de' tempi suoi, per provvedere ed eseguire la volontà di chi

disegnava più che per operare di sua mano, sebbene aveva giudizio e grande sperienza," Vaa. vii. 139.

† Vas. x. p. 6; and Bembo to Bibiena, Rome, July 19, 1517: "Di nuovo la loggia di V. S. si va edificando e torna bellissima."

followed the same system in Tuscany, and for a time, at Rome. But when the necessities of his position forced him to architectural decoration, his only resource was to appeal to Bramante. The splendid designs of the School of Athens and Heliodorus were obtained from that architect. But when Bramante died, the gap which had been artificially concealed must have yawned before Raphael with dreadful reality. Bramante had recommended him as his successor at St. Peter's; the Pope had insisted on his completing the camere, and was about to give him the subjects for the cartoons, yet he knew little or nothing of the art which was necessary for the fulfilment of his duties as a builder. That he felt the weight of wide responsibilities is clear from his letter to Castiglione. A great burden had been laid upon his shoulders and he only hoped that he would not sink under it. Nothing shows the energy and will of the artist so much as the effort which he made to maintain his position. At first he thought Giocondo might communicate some of his secrets. But the Pope only hoped that the grey-headed octogenarian would give him lessons and help him to learn a new art. We can pretty well guess who it was that furnished the model and estimates which Leo approved. But the great secret which Raphael could not acquire was that of translating difficult Latin into pure Tuscan, and this was the secret which Giocondo was to carry to his grave without communicating it to his pupil. Long before the time of which we are treating, this most learned architect had

completed an edition of Vitruvius in Latin. He published it at Venice in 1511, with a dedication to Julius II. After the fire of the Rialto at Venice in 1513, he competed for the model upon which it was to be rebuilt. But whilst the Venetian "sages" discussed the cost, he published a second edition of his Vitruvius with a dedication to Giuliano de' Medici, under whose patronage he probably went to Rome.\* When Raphael said that he gathered much knowledge from Vitruvius, and met the Pope every morning to confer on the building of St. Peter, it seems natural to think that he got such glimpses of the original text which he could not read as Giocondo might construe for him. We suppose that he listened with deference to the converse of the Pope and Giocondo. Long after Giocondo's death he employed Mario Fabio Calvo to translate Vitruvius into Tuscan. But prior to this, his knowledge of the rules of classic building must have been superficial. It was not till August, 1515, when Giocondo died, and Giuliano da San Gallo retired to Florence, that he seriously felt the want of the book.†

It has been well observed that the Italians of the 15th and 16th centuries showed great richness of fancy in creating architectural designs, but that technical difficulties were met as they arose by the construction of models; and the laws which were not mastered

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\* Marchese, *Memorie*, u. s. ii. pp. 234-8.

† See for the death of Fra Giocondo, in August, 1515, at

Rome, *Memorie dell' Istituto Veneto*, ix. p. 395; and Marin Sanudo's *Diaries*, vol. xx. p. 335.

theoretically were applied by rough rules of practice.\* Sometimes it happened that faults were detected too late to be remedied. But generally, the foremen and assistants were practical people, who curbed the fancy of their superiors within reasonable limits. With such foremen as Giocondo, San Gallo, and Leno, Raphael might enjoy comparative immunity from anxiety. But when Antonio da San Gallo and Leno alone remained, the control was neither effectual nor easily borne.

We may venture to presume that during 1514 and 1515, divergent views were held at the Vatican as to the propriety of continuing to build on Bramante's plan. A new legend of the cross arose out of the quarrels of the Latins and Greeks amongst the artists of St. Peter's. For a time the Latins, led by Raphael, had the upper hand. They were beaten from the field many years later by Michaelangelo, who restored the scheme of Bramante. But in the interval, the works were feebly and "coldly" conducted.† In a sketch at the Uffizi, the state of the edifice at an early period in the 16th century is shown. The niche of old St. Peter's stands in the square of the new dome with a wooden covering above it. The sides of the drum rise beyond the panelled arches. Labourers are at work on the balcony raising a block by means of a crane. A smaller crane serves to hoist stones on the superstructure. Between the fretted outlines of the masonry the sky appears.‡

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\* Springer, Raphael and Michaelangelo, p. 297.

† Vasari, x. p. 5.

‡ A steel cut of this drawing is in Heath Wilson's Michaelangelo, p. 514.

Historians naturally endeavoured to ascertain what Raphael achieved besides directing the work at St. Peter's. Architecture, for a time, absorbed the painter's whole mind. In pursuit of this knowledge, Raphael abandoned all attempts to paint continuously in the Camera dell' Incendio. He made studies which he entrusted to his assistants, and they drafted the designs and cartoons, and transferred them to the walls. Such traces of his handywork as we can discover under the patchings of numerous and not always competent restorers are confined to corrections and retouchings intended to remove the discords of incomplete harmonies. But the architectural backgrounds of the "Battle of Ostia," or the "Fire of the Borgo," were the natural outcome of his own observation. That Raphael visited Ostia, whither Leo X. sometimes repaired, is probable. The buildings of the "Fire of the Borgo" are derived from the streets of Rome. On the left side of the picture a flight of Corinthian column is taken with the utmost fidelity from the remains of the Temple of Mars Ultor, now standing in a dilapidated state in the Via Bonella. On the right, the pillared edifice on a basement of stone is adapted from the Temple of Saturn. Similar evidence of architectural imitation is afforded by the cartoons for the tapestries of the Vatican, and to cite but one instance, the round monument in "St. Paul at Athens," though it bears some resemblance to the Tempietto, near San Pietro in Montorio, is probably studied from the edifices which originally inspired the genius of Bramante. Archæology attracted Raphael's

attention almost as much as architecture, and the fruits of his labours in that field are seen in the decorations of the Loggie. Giovius reminds us in one of his sketches that topography was also a subject which the painter attended to.\* His plan of Rome, of which Celio Calcagnini speaks in a letter to Jacob Ziegler, was only executed after copious measurements, made with the compass and theodolite; and the heights were ascertained by excavations sunk into the accumulated rubbish of ages.† But there was some difference between copying and creating, and when we strive to detect what Raphael produced as an architect we get upon difficult and perplexing ground. Vasari himself is obviously puzzled to define what Raphael accomplished. In some places, he speaks of architectural designs furnished “at the Villa Madama, and at palaces in the Borgo,” and amongst the edifices which he particularly mentions is the palace of Giovanni Battista dell’ Aquila. In other places he speaks of “designs sketched” for San Giovanni of the Florentines at Rome, San Lorenzo and the Palazzo Pandolfini at Florence. In a third series of passages Raphael is described as “ordering” the architecture of the Chigi stables at the Farnesina, and the chapel of the Chigi in Santa Maria del Popolo at Rome.‡ To interpret the first of these forms of expression in Vasari, the buildings to which he alludes should be visible. They have unfortunately

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\* Fragment in Tiraboschi, *Storia della Letteratura*, Modena, 1781, ix. app. p. 291.

† See the authorities faithfully

excerpted in Pass. Raph. i. 527 and 200.

‡ Vas. viii. 42, 43, 46 and 163; xii. 201; and xiii. 80.

perished, with the exception of the Villa Madama. It is curious that all the drawings for that Villa in the Uffizi are made to scale by Antonio da San Gallo,\* and the only share which can be assigned to Raphael would be that of a general sketch, such as his fancy might evolve, and a clever assistant work out. The second form includes one doubtful success and two failures. Raphael's designs for the churches of San Giovanni of the Florentines and San Lorenzo were not accepted.† That of the Pandolfini palace, though full of grandeur, was not begun till after Raphael's death.‡

An interesting passage in Agostino Chigi's will refers to the chapel of the Popolo, which was still unfinished at the banker's death, but was to receive completion according to an arrangement or *ordinatio* previously determined by the testator, and of which Raphael and Magister Antonio da San Marino were fully informed.§ The word *ordinatio* closely resembles

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\* Geymüller. Raph. Sanzio Studiato, 4to, Milan, 1884. The first sketch for the Villa Madama by A. Picconi da S. Gallo, is No. 179 at the Uffizi; the finished plan by the same, No. 314. Another plan, No. 273, ascribed to Raphael, has written directions attributed to Battista da San Gallo.

† P. Aretino to Jacopo Sansovino, Nov. 20, 1537, in Lettere, 12mo, Paris, 1609, vol. i. p. 190. Vas. xii. 201; and xiii. 80. An architectural drawing at the Albertina, assigned by Pass. (Raphael, ii. 387), to Raphael, is supposed to

represent S. Lorenzo. But the drawing is not genuine, and is really meant for the façade of St. Peter's at Rome.

‡ Vas. xi. p. 202—4. The building bears an inscription which shows that it was begun in 1520, and Aristotile finished it after 1530.

§ See the will in Cugnoni's Agostino Chigi, p. 169. Antonio da San Marino, here called Magister, was a goldsmith, who owned a picture of Raphael. See *antea*. Raphael left him some land in his will. See Il Buonarrotti, Nuova Ser. i. p. 101.

Vasari's "*ordine*." It appears to suggest some species of decoration as well as the building of an edifice. It is therefore a question whether Raphael planned the Chigi chapel at the Popolo or only suggested its internal adornment.\*

In Fabio Chigi's memoir of Agostino, the "magnificent" financier is said to have promised Julius II. who boasted of the beauty of Cardinal Riario's palace, that he would build stables more beautiful than the prelate's house. "Nor did he forget his promise when he gave Baldassare Peruzzi a coadjutor in the person of Raphael, and consulted others to control them."†

Here again Raphael appears as an adviser by the side of Peruzzi. It seems to be admitted that the Chigi stables were built in the same style as the villa of which they formed an appendage. Vasari assures us that the Farnesina was planned and erected by Baldassare. Fabio Chigi confirms this view, not only as regards the villa, but as regards the stables. Under all circumstances the stables could only be ascribed

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\* The annotators of Vasari (viii. 46) and Passavant (Raphael, ii. 384) assign to Raphael the plans at the Uffizi and the Cappella Chigi in S. M. del Popolo. But these designs now numbered 1126-7-8, are not by Raphael, and are now catalogued under the name of their real author, Antonio Picconi da San Gallo. See also Redtenbacher's *Neue Mittheilungen aus den Uffizien in Florenz* in Beiblatt zur

*Zeitsch., f. b. Kunst*, 1884, p. 247; and the notes to the 2nd ed. of Springer's *Raph. and M. Angelo*, ii. p. 365.

† The Chigi stables are no longer in existence. They had been transformed in 1518 into a banqueting hall, and the transformation was effected by covering the walls with hangings. See Cugnoni's *Agostino Chigi*, u. s. pp. 31, 34.



to Raphael if we should also attribute to his pencil the Farnesina itself; and this with all respect for high authorities on architecture seems a very daring assumption.\*

Bramante's death had probably been foreseen by Raphael, yet its suddenness evidently took him by surprise. So little was he prepared for the new burdens which awaited him, so unconscious of the impulse which his life was about to take that he contemplated accepting a wife selected by his relatives at home, and became a member of the brotherhood of Corpus Christi at Urbino.† He had not been on the books of the brotherhood for more than ten days when Bramante died. Three weeks later he entered on the duties at St. Peter's, which were confirmed to him by the brief of the following August. This commission was a document of extraordinary importance, as it gave the painter precedence over Giuliano da San Gallo and Fra Giocondo. It was doubtless with the certainty of a perpetual provision which it secured that Bibiena proposed his marriage with a niece of his own, and Raphael broke off the negotiations for a match at Urbino. The hesitations which marked these negotiations and the pleasure conveyed in the announcement of their suspension are apparent from the letter to Ciarla. Raphael probably had secret hopes that Bibiena's offer would come to nothing. The promise

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\* It is an assumption supported by the great authority of Mr. H. de Geymüller, *u. s.*, but consult

Vasari, vol. viii. p 222. ~

† Pungileoni, *Raph. u. s.* p. 147.

which he gave to the Cardinal was never fulfilled in consequence of the sickness and subsequent death of the lady, and thus, with a light heart and few misgivings, the painter started on his new career.\*

The motives which induced the Pope to adorn the Camera dell' Incendio with subjects illustrating the Pontificates of the Leos, appear at the first blush simple enough. But the reasons for the selection of each subject must be found in the politics of the time in which they were composed. If we admit that the "Fire of the Borgo" was the first fresco undertaken in the Camera dell' Incendio, we may suppose that it illustrated the feelings of the papal court after the battle of Novara. Three months had scarcely elapsed since the Pope's accession when the French were encountered and thoroughly defeated. Italy was in a blaze. Leo appeared and with a sign he put out the fire. If this was the uppermost thought in political circles at the Vatican, nothing could be more appropriate than to embody it in a picture. Six centuries before, a great fire had broken out in the Saxon

\* Vaa (viii. 57), after alluding to Raphael's relations with Bibiena, and to the Cardinal's plans for wedding him, says the painter had notice that the Pope would give him a cardinal's hat. If the Pope ever had any intention of the kind it never took effect. Pungileoni (Raphael, 166) quotes a contract of marriage between Marietta Bibiena and Bernardino Peruli of Urbino, dated Jan. 4,

1515. An epitaph in the Pantheon (Pass. Raph. i. 533) shows that Maria Bibiena died unmarried. But we cannot reconcile the discrepancy between the inscription which calls the lady a daughter of Antonio F. Bibiena, and Pungileoni, who calls "Marietta Bibiena" the child of "Pietro the Cardinal's brother;" nor is it certain that Marietta and Maria are one person.

quarter of Rome. Favoured by the wind, the flames consumed the wooden houses of the Lombards, attacked the portico of St. Peter's, and threatened to destroy the basilica. The rapid extinction of the fire was ascribed to the faith of Leo IV., who mastered the element with the sign of the cross.\* Raphael was not interrupted in the preparation of this composition by any of the preliminary labours which claimed his attention at earlier periods. There was no reason why the ceiling which Perugino had painted a few years before should be altered. It might be doubtful whether the figures of the Redeemer with apostles and saints, which filled the sections of the roofing, were better than those of Sodoma, which had been cleared away in the chamber of the Segnatura. But there was an obvious economy of time in preserving them, and Raphael was not without feelings of respect and reverence for the work of his old master.† He composed the "Fire of the Borgo" with a simplicity of means, and an economy of space which has given rise to adverse criticism in modern times,‡ yet we may venture to think that this very economy did Raphael honour. It has been objected by Vasari that Raphael unnecessarily strove to enlarge and to vary his manner by showing that he could paint nudes as cleverly as Michaelangelo, and that he revealed his inferiority by producing naked figures, which, though good in the main, were still inferior to those of the painter of the

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\* Anastasius in Gregorovius, u. s. iii. 100.

† Vas. viii. p. 40.

‡ Müntz, Raphael, u. s. p. 444.

Sixtine chapel.\* Vasari failed to perceive that the cause of Raphael's inferiority was trusting to deputies what he might have done in person. Had he looked at the studies which the master drew with his own hand, he would have confessed the partiality of his criticism. The scene depicted in the Camera dell' Incendio is exactly in accordance with the data of history. The fire is close to the portico of St. Peter's, where the Pope appears in the act of benediction. The lodge with the front of St. Peter's, adorned with mosaics behind it, probably gives a correct idea of the old Basilica in Raphael's time. On the steps before the palace, the crowd has met to exhaust every form of appeal to the supernatural intervention of the Vicar of God upon earth. They kneel, they supplicate, or turn away in despair. Meanwhile the people escape from the ruins on one side, and busy men and women exert themselves to quell the flames on the other. To the left, in front of the pillars, which, we saw, represent the temple of Mars Ultor, a bare wall projects into the picture; a woman leans over it, preparing to lower a swaddled babe, which a man below is straining to catch. Nearer the spectator, a fugitive with scanty drapery drops from the wall to which he clings with his hands, whilst measuring, with anxious eye, the distance that separates him from the ground. Out of the vault at the corner, round which a lurid smoke is curling, an aged man is carried by his son, who

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\* Vas. viii. 54.

displays the vigour and muscle of an athlete, though he staggers under the weight of his load. A boy hurries out with household treasures in his grasp, looking proudly as he goes at the pair near him, all three have come in a state of nature from their beds with fragments of sheets about them. A mother, in a night dress, behind, carries the clothes. Strange to say, this picture of a hurried flight from a bedroom at night is at variance with the daylight in the picture. But Raphael, no doubt, only depicted the dawn of early morning, when people sleep, though nature is awake. The splendid display of frame and limb strained by muscular tension, the clever contour of body and legs, are but partially veiled by defects of execution attributable to Raphael's disciples. In the group, which reminds us of Anchises borne by Æneas from the ruins of Troy, we can trace the hand of Raphael harmonizing the work of Giulio Romano by touches of his own, and these traces of manipulation are most visible in the figure of the man dropping from the wall, or the father and mother whose powerful frames seem wasted and wrinkled by age. Yet the final result is less grand than that of the two splendid drawings at the Albertina of Vienna, which severally represent the man on the wall and the man carrying his father.\*

\* Vienna. Albertina. No. 4010. Red chalk. 13 in.  $\frac{5}{8}$ ths h. by 6. in. This is a splendid study from the model, the head particularly fine, the frame and limbs of masculine power.

The same figure, in umber and

white, is at Oxford. No. 98. A copy, 9 in. h. by 16.

Vienna. Albertina. Red chalk. 12 in. h. by 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ . This study shows the play of muscle admirably. The young man, in a hip-cloth, strides forward with his left leg.

When we look at Michaelangelo's "Deluge" on the ceiling of the Sistine chapel, we see perhaps the original incidents which suggested Raphael's group in the "Fire of the Borgo." Here the work of saving life is carried on by men, who rescue their women and friends from a flood. But Raphael conceives the same episodes under dread of fire, and the act of carrying is all that we find in common in both artists; the feeling of the younger master remains always perfectly original and essentially his own. In the building to the right we recognised the temple of Saturn built by the Romans on that part of the Forum which was nearest the Capitol. The basement of the edifice is of solid masonry, to which the ascent is effected by a steep flight of steps. The pillars are plain, the capitals Doric, and the materials coloured stone. Inside the building a man throws water on the flames; his younger companion on the upper steps looks intently at the progress of the fire, and stooping mechanically, lays an empty amphora in the right hand of a woman, whilst he catches at the handle of a vase which the same woman holds up in her left. The conception of this figure of a Roman girl is one of the happiest that can be conceived. Her shape is antique in its grandeur, her flying draperies admirable, her thoughts, voice, and action

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His father is on his back. With the right hand he holds the knee of the old man; with the left the wrist. The father's leg rests on the son's left arm. A perfect intertress.

A copy of the foregoing group, with the boy, in umber and white, at the Ambrosiana of Milan, ascribed to Raphael, is taken from the fresco, and is not a genuine Raphael.

all concentrated. She stands on tiptoe and strains to keep up the heavily laden vessel, her right arm easily bears the weight of the empty one. But her eagerness is shown in her face, which is turned towards the foreground, and she calls to a female descending the steps to hurry with a fresh supply. Here again we have a masterpiece of Raphaelesque delineation. The girl walks down with an amphora in her hand, another on her head, a muscular, youthful, well-made woman of the humble class, ennobled by perfect natural form. She gives a responsive call to the cry of her companion, the wind presses her tunic and mantle to her shape, and curls the loose parts of it into rolling flaps. But, mindless of its force, she marches majestically on.

The contrast between the fugitives on the one side and the busy fire-quelling people on the other, is powerfully brought into relief by the groups in the foreground between them. A mother escaping from the danger moves across the space, driving her two naked children before her, and carrying their clothes; they shiver in the cold of the morning. Another matron on the ground with her child in her lap looks round at the people escaping. But in front of her a girl on her knees has seen the Pontiff in the lodge, and throws her arms imploringly upwards. A woman further back imitates her action, and encourages her child to pray for the Pope's intervention.\*

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\* This group of mother and child is quite on the lines of a group of a mother pressing her child forward to beg on the Sarcophagus, No. 39, at the Uffizi of Florence, which in Raphael's time

The charm of the picture is as much diminished in these groups as it is in the fugitives on the left. The only portion of the composition in which Raphael took a prominent part, is the concourse of people at the foot of the lodge where the Pope gives his blessing. The simple grandeur of the movements, and the antique conception of the draperies in most of these figures, are made more conspicuous by a soft and harmonious colouring and balanced light and shade, which can scarcely be assigned to any one but Raphael himself. The varying treatment of different disciples disturbs the unity of other important parts:—in the female driving her two shivering children, the loose drawing and poor definition of forms of Penni or Giovanni da Udine; in the groups to the right, the overweight of muscle, rigid contour, rusty shadows and gaudy drapery tints of Giulio Romano. Even the masterly representation of the woman in the right foreground is marred by the absence of Raphael's hand, and yet how cleverly he prepared the way for that pupil, as well as for Penni and Giovanni da Udine in the studies at Florence and Vienna. Everything here seems made easy for the labour of the subordinate. The mother resting on the ground with her child in her lap at the Albertina, could not have been designed with greater cleverness. But the fresco hardly shows that Penni or Giovanni da Udine could

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was in the Medici Palace at Rome. See an outline of the relief of this Sarcophagus in Bartoli's *Admiranda*, No. 82. It was more

copiously used, as we shall presently see, in the cartoon of "St. Paul at Lystra."



grasp and realize its beauties.\* A drawing in the Academy of Düsseldorf shows the first study from the nude model for the woman carrying the vases.† Setting this study before him, Raphael, with all his powers intensified by practice, designed the draped woman at the Uffizi, which is a model of elegance and strength, in a sweep of vestments altogether classic. The face and part of the frame of the girl who shouts as she exchanges the vases with the man on the temple steps, and the frame of the man carrying a load to the right, indicate the completion in the painter's mind of the whole of that portion of the composition.‡ How

\* Albertina. Red chalk. 12½ in. h. by 9½. In this spirited study from nature, the group in the fresco is put together, without the child on the kneeling woman's lap being more than indicated by rudiments of the hips and legs.

† Düsseldorf Academy. Red chalk. 0·35 h. by 0·15. This drawing shows the nude model in reverse, and is supposed to be a touch rubbing from a lost original by Raphael (Passavant, Raph. ii. No. 291). It is rather worn, but it looks original. The pots in the hand and on the head of the figure are common-ware of Raphael's period, especially the first, which has a coarse ordinary snout. The forms are accurately studied and modelled from nature, and have not the grand breadth and sweep of the draped design at the Uffizi. A copy of the Düsseldorf drawing in reverse is No. 99, at Oxford, 15½ in. h. by 6 inches. It is shaded

in bistre, heightened with white, on pale brown ground. It is not a genuine Raphael.

‡ Uffizi. No. 521. 16 in. h. by 8½. This powerful sketch in red chalk is so exactly like the fresco that it is evident it was Giulio Romano's model for the cartoon of the picture. Every turn and flap of the plastic shape and draperies of Raphael is conscientiously followed by his pupil, and yet his reproduction is wanting in some of the life and energy of the original.

At Chatsworth there is a fine red chalk study from life of a naked female kneeling with her right arm bent, and indications of something indefinite in her hand. Her left arm is thrown upwards, and she seems to be appealing open-mouthed to some unseen person. This study is probably one of the first impressions for the female kneeling in the centre foreground of the fresco, which

hard and red is the pencil of Giulio who failed to bring the painting to the level of Raphael's conception. The composition of the "Fire of the Borgo" is saved by the clever distribution of light and shade, the gloom on the buildings at the sides flecked with a few forks of fire, but dimmed here and there with smoke, the figures clearly relieved against these darker parts; the light ground and the bright steps in front of the lodge, and against these the coloured tones of the central foreground groups edged with reflections from the fire. The frequent holidays of Raphael, and his casual visits to the Camera dell' Incendio, are proved by the absence of his retouches in some places and their existence in others. It must often have happened that he wished he had been able to modify some portions of his pupil's work. But he recoiled before the necessity of breaking out the plaster of the wall without which he could not renew what his experience showed him to be faulty.\*

was altered from profile to a back view.

At Lille, a man carrying a vase, seen in back view, No. 727, 0·167 h. by 0·095, red chalk, might be considered a first impression for one of the figures of the "Fire of the Borgo." On the back of the sheet are copies of the two boys on the console next the Lybian Sibyl of Michaelangelo at the Sixtine (No. 726, 0·180 h. by 0·110). Passavant, ii. p. 485, thinks these drawings are by Raphael. But we have not been able to share his opinion.

\* *Fire of the Borgo.* The state

of the fresco is bad. There is a fissure in the wall which runs obliquely down the centre of the picture. The ground under the feet of the man carrying his father is replastered; and the toes of the right foot are renewed. The arms and head of the woman dropping the child are also injured. The dress of the woman at the foot of the temple to the right is damaged by scaling on the shoulder and arm. The sky is repainted.

We forgot to mention in the text the similarity between the shape of the man carrying a load

The "Battle of Ostia" which was probably begun after the "Fire of the Borgo," was finished in 1514, or early in the following year. Luther had been at Rome, but the spirit of the Reformation slumbered as yet in the breasts of the Germans. Raphael entered into correspondence with Albert Dürer. One of his models sat for the figure of the captain on the left hand foreground of the "Battle of Ostia," and he sent the study to Dürer, who returned the compliment with a copy of his prints and a portrait of himself.\* In his methodical way Dürer inscribed Raphael's drawing with the date of 1515, and wrote with the long stroke peculiar to his hand at that time: "Raphael of Urbino who stands so high in honour with the Pope, drew this naked picture and sent it to Albert Dürer at Nuremberg, to give him a test of his art."† Political feeling in 1514-15 was deeply stirred by the struggles of Christian nations against

on the extreme right of the picture, and a figure in Michaelangelo's "Deluge" at the Sixtine.

\* Vas. viii. p. 35 ; and ix. 274. Thausing's Dürer, p. 354.

† "1515. Raffahel de Urbin der so hoch poim pobat geacht ist gewest hat der hat dyse nackette bild gemacht und hat sy dem albrecht duerer gen Nornberg geschickt Im sein hand zu weisen."

The drawing upon which this inscription is written is in the Albertina of Vienna. Red chalk. 15½ in. h. by 10¾. It represents the nude of the captain to the left

in the fresco of the "Battle of Ostia," with his left hand on his hip, his right extended. To the right of the figure is an academy. A man standing in half profile to the right, with the elbow of his right arm on the left wrist, and both hands grasping a pole. Masterly study of the model.

The portrait of Dürer, painted on a very thin cloth, with the canvas bare for the high lights, was seen by Vasari amongst Giulio Romano's heirlooms of Raphael at Mantua. It has not been preserved. See Vas. x. pp. 111-12.

the Turks. Leo himself feebly advocated a crusade. But the active outcome was little more than Raphael's fresco of the "Battle of Ostia." The scene which the great master was ordered to depict was historical. The Saracens, after plundering the Vatican in 846, threatened Ostia in 849. Leo IV. headed a procession of troops despatched to reinforce the garrison, and prayed for a victory at the altar of Sant' Aurea. The day after his return to Rome the Saracens appeared with a fleet, and engaged the papal galleys at Ostia. A storm separated the squadrons, and the wreck of the Saracen armada strewed the west coast of Italy. Pictorial licence allowed Raphael to depict the naval encounter in a calm, and represent Leo X. receiving the prisoners on the Ostian shore. But some time elapsed before the final shape of the composition was settled, and Raphael at first determined to paint a battlefield on land. His sketches for this composition are partly preserved at Oxford, and they all display conspicuously the skill of a master to whom every form of action in the human shape was perfectly familiar. On one sheet is the fight over the dead body of a soldier whose corpse is dragged away by a rope, and defended by a forlorn hope of angry combatants.\* The moment of victory is represented in

\* Oxford. No. 10<sup>b</sup>. Sheet drawn with pen and bistre. 16½ in. h. by 11. A magnificent drawing of seven figures. To the left two armed men defend a third carrying a dead body with a rope round its neck, at which a figure

on the extreme right is pulling. Between the latter and the corpse a man helps his friend who is carrying the body, and is seconded by a soldier who prepares to strike with his sword.

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another drawing where the dead lie in heaps, and a prisoner is subjected to the process of pinioning, whilst front watch is kept by a soldier with shield and lance.\* The rescue of the dead and the binding of captives forms the subject of a third drawing, in which the battle is shown still raging, and the victors call to each other as they follow the movements of the enemy, whose forces retreat from their view.† Far in advance of the time when he

\* Oxford. No. 101. Pen drawing. 16½ in. h. by 11. A couple of men draw the rope which binds the hands of a prisoner who bends in pain. All but one of the group look eagerly to the right, the foremost of them with shield and lance. Nothing can be finer than the form and movement of these figures in motion; nothing more clever than their expressions. Raphael had nothing more to learn of the shape and action of limbs, feet, hands, and articulations. He was himself, so to speak, independent of all influences, even of Lionardo or Michaelangelo.

† Oxford. Back of the sheet on which the foregoing is drawn. To the right a man carrying a dead companion, whose loins he grasps. The legs of the corpse are stiff and rest on the ground. To the left of these the man stooping to bind the prisoner as described in the text. To the left again the man threatening a captive, on whose shoulder he kneels.

Three other figures looking to the right or at each other, with powerful stride and quick gesticu-

lations. More hasty in line, but in the same current of thought, is a pen sketch, No. 682, at Lille, 0.41 h. by 0.28, representing a corpse over which men in flight are striding. Behind these—a fugitive on horseback. The corpse recalls the fallen prisoner in the right side of the fresco of the "Battle of Ostia."

In this bold style, and apparently of this period, is a drawing at Oxford, No. 55, pen and bistre, 10½ in. h. by 7½. A rapid sketch like a bas-relief in arrangement of Samson with one knee on the back of a lion whose jaw he is rending. The head is very energetic, and there is a fine curl of flying drapery in motion over Samson's back. On the reverse of the sheet a female head, in bistre wash, perhaps of an earlier time. Raphael's spirited execution after four or five years' stay at Rome contrasts with the less schooled but not more energetic spirit in a drawing of a similar subject, No. xxvi., 3, in the Venetian Sketch-book. In each case we are reminded of the style of Pollaiuolo.

copied Lionardo's "Fight for the Standard," and the Venetian sketches of ensign-bearers and skirmishers, Raphael exhibits with a genius altogether his own, the fierce passions of anger and pain in flexible nudes instinct with life and full of the energy of momentary action. He accomplishes the most daring feats of foreshortening, and solves the most difficult problems of design in figures moved by hate, revenge or despair, and all this with a masterly rapidity unparalleled in any age. In the last of these drawings especially, his pen seems inspired when he evolves the form of a kneeling prisoner who throws his head back and his shoulders forward, as a bearded enemy stoops to fasten a ligature round his wrists. In the face of the first the grim distortion caused by anguish, in the second the savage exultation of victory. Near this group again a prostrate captive on whose shoulder his antagonist is kneeling whilst his hand is raised for a blow. When the picture came to its final arrangement, Raphael had discovered that all this display was needless. The victory of Ostia, won on the sea, receded to the background of the composition. The landing of the Turks before the Pope, became an all important episode, and nothing was taken from

① Less clever is a drawing of the same class as regards subject—No. 56. Oxford. Pen and bistre drawing. 5½ in. h. by 5½—representing a young Hercules astride of a Cerberus, one of whose three heads he is strangling. His toes are cramped with exertion. In his

right hand he holds a club. The contours are rapidly given, but somewhat poor. Something of the school of Lionardo in the execution, suggests the inquiry, whether Cesare da Sesto, and not Raphael, might be the author of this piece.

the preliminary sketches but the pinioning of prisoners.

The triumphs of consuls and Emperors at Rome had always been marked by processions of captives, the most varied incidents illustrating the treatment of these unfortunates were embodied in the carved decorations of Italian monuments. Raphael, baulked of the fight, appealed to the antique for the materials of his new subject. In the basreliefs of Trajan's column and the arch of Constantine, he found these materials in abundance. Here we have two soldiers driving a peasant to the presence of his officers and forcing the stubborn barbarian onwards by the head and waist; there, Dacians are bound or put into fetters by Roman legionaries, and are then driven or dragged by hair and beard or by ropes, before the victorious chief. Looking attentively at these episodes, Raphael disdained to copy them, but he adapted and fitted them together with such parts of his earlier sketches as he thought he could use for the occasion. He was not mindless of the fact that the vanquished enemies of the Church were strangers to the Italian shores, and he gave to their features the coarse strength and foreign type that distinguished them from his own countrymen. In the left foreground of his fresco, which is cleverly united to the distance by the Pope's suite receding on the road to the outworks of Ostia, Leo X. appears enthroned on a block of marble with fragments of overturned architecture at his feet. He witnesses without noticing the landing of prisoners. Behind him the road skirts

the water on one side and is lined on the other by a pyramid, a fort, and a portal, flanked by an octagon work surmounted by a round tower. In the waters to the right, the champions of the cross fight the turbaned Saracens on the decks of their own galleys. Angry Moslems throw their darts from the basket tops. Despairing infidels take to their boats caught up by pursuers who sink and destroy them or follow and despatch the fugitives with their arrows on shore. A small party of the enemy is landed at the foot of the octagon work, another party of ten has been taken, almost naked, to the Pope's presence. The boat which brings them is held to the quay on the right by a grey-bearded boatman, whose brawny frame and limbs are partially covered by a scanty cloth. The last of the captives, stepping over the thwarts escorted by a mailed guard, are caught by two helmeted captains who drag them, sword in hand, by hair and beard to the front. Their progress is barred by a desperate couple, who roll on the ground, one of them bursting his bonds and seizing the mace of his keeper. To the left of these another prisoner lies prostrate and pinned to the earth by a man who draws a fresh knot round his wrist. The foremost captives are forced into kneeling postures before the throne, and mindless of this show of brute force, Leo, in full pontificals looks up and pours out thanks to Heaven, whilst the captain of the host issues orders at his side and an acolyte holds a crucifix aloft. The scene is silently witnessed by Cardinal Giulio de' Medici and Cardinal Bibiena in rear of the Pope. The plumed helmet



of the captain of the host, lies on the marble ruins near the sabres and shields of the vanquished. Not a sign is apparent of the Eastern type in the Saracens; nothing to show that they are the shaven sons of Islam. The shaggy hair and beard of barbarians was required to give reality to the peculiar form of action imitated from the triumphs of the Cæsars. It allowed the painter, at some sacrifice of truth, to establish in a traditional form the contrast between defiant yet humbled strength and victorious power before the prayerful serenity of the Pope and his suite. The prostrate prisoner bound afresh by a strong and pitiless hand, recalls the thunderstruck beings in Signorelli's frescos at Orvieto. More violently foreshortened is the couple near the boat forming a confused mass of flesh on the earth. One presents his crown and shoulders to the spectator, the other astride of him is mad with the pain of the fetters on his wrist, yet still struggling for the mace of the soldier who leans over him. Unfortunately both groups are fatally injured, and everything points to the suggestion that they were obliterated and repainted more than once in the course of ages. A sketch drawing of the knot of three at Oxford would tend to show that the first restorer was Sebastian del Piombo, whose labours were afterwards destroyed by modern hands.\* And thus an art which combined the varied

\* Oxford. No. 100. Soft black chalk on grey paper. 15 in. h. by 10½. Fragment cut off at the corners, with the head and

shoulders and arm of the figure on the ground, the torso and head of the man on one knee, and his right leg over the body of his

elements of power derived from Donatello, Signorelli, and Michaelangelo, was lost. But it is not in foreshortening and complex action alone that the fresco is remarkable, the figures are distributed with extraordinary skill and picturesqueness in the space at the painter's command. Expression and movement are equally forcible and appropriate, and a subtle balance of light and shade in large masses is accompanied by shaded variety of incident and colour.\* In a more abundant measure here than in the "Fire of the Borgo" or the "Coronation of Charlemagne," in the same room we notice the track of Raphael's brush or his presence as the superintendent of his disciples.† The Pontiff's face, in the master's own hand, still preserves the impress of his genius in natural gradations of flesh tones and inspired looks. Giulio de' Medici and Bernardo Bibiena, are almost equal to the Leo as specimens of portraiture. The burly shapes and common faces of the barbarians may reveal the hand of Giulio Romano, since the same types recur in the "Battle of the Giants" at Mantua.‡ Sebastian

prostrate companion, the arm of the guard, and an outline of a foot. This fine design looks as if it had been copied from the cartoon or from the fresco. It is very boldly executed, but not in the style of any of the pupils of Raphael. It looks like the work of Sebastian del Piombo, desirous of restoring the work of Raphael, the method of modelling and rendering being Venetian, and not Roman.

\* A drawing of the "Battle of

Ostia," washed in umber and white, 16½ in. h. by 25, was sold to Mr. Woodburn at the sale of King William of Holland, in Aug. 1850, for 170 florins (not seen).

† "Nelle Camere del Papa, del continuo teneva delle genti, che con i disegni suoi medesimi gli (Raph.) tiravano innanzi l'opera." Vas. viii. 38.

‡ Ajutò (Giulio) anco a Rafaello colorire molte cose nella Camera di Torre Borgia. Vas. x. p. 88.

del Piombo may be pardoned for the sacrilegious interference with Raphael's work which Titian reproved,\* since the sacrilege was repeated by a later craftsman. The marble fragments and trophies and parts of the distant buildings are probably the handiwork of Giovanni da Udine.†

During the progress of the "Fire of the Borgo" and the "Battle of Ostia," Raphael's attention was concentrated on a series of pictures not less interesting in a pictorial sense than those of the Camere. Paris de Grassis, who had witnessed the demolition and the slow reconstruction of St. Peter's, had gradually become convinced that the only place for solemn exhibitions of church ceremonial would for years to come be the Sistine chapel. There was hardly a day on which he had not to invent some new form of arrangement for celebrating mass at the death of a cardinal, or the reception of deputations, and foreign envoys. It seemed natural, instead of constantly

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\* Dolce, Dialogo, p. 9.

† The state of the fresco is bad; and this is due to accidents and retouching. A fissure, to which clamps have been affixed, runs down the whole of the wall from the sky, through the sail of one of the galleys to the arm of the captive on the ground, whose arm a guard is binding. A branch of the crack has broken up the arms of the captain with the drawn sword. Another set of smaller fissures forms a net between the base of the picture and the figures of the two pri-

soners rolling over each other. This damage, due it is said to the presence of a flue behind the plastering, has caused the obliteration, and resulted in the re-painting at different periods of the figures above mentioned, which are all in a very bad condition. Besides this, the faces of the Pope, the two cardinals, and the crucifix-bearer are altered by retouching, and extensive stippling and patching disfigures all the prisoners near the Pope's throne, which is indeed the most ruined part of the fresco.

renewing and shifting the materials of ecclesiastical display, to invent a permanent adornment which should always be kept in store and taken out for use at a moment's notice. The Sistine chapel was the largest, the loftiest, the most appropriate space in the whole Vatican for every kind of solemnity. Its internal furniture required renovation; the pulpit, it was thought, should be of pure gold. It was impossible to be confident that on any day rain or wind would not make the altar of St. Peter's unapproachable. Arras had often been tried at festivals and banquets. It was transportable and splendid in material and colour. It concealed for the time every defect of age and neglect. Hung on the skirting of the walls beneath the frescos of Ghirlandaio and his compeers, it would harmonize much better than the highly coloured and brilliant paintings even of Raphael. But if Raphael's art should appear too bright for frescos at the Sistine it might be employed to design the subjects which tapestry makers could weave on his lines. Such suggestions and arguments as these may have been presented and favourably received by Leo X. Raphael was bidden to compose ten cartoons with subjects taken from the Acts of the Apostles.\* The cartoons were to be embroidered and edged with borders filling the spaces and pilaster divisions of the presbytery of the Sistine chapel. Five incidents were to be taken from the life of St.

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\* Vasari says: (viii. p. 47-8) | Sistine with tapestries was due to  
that the plan for adorning the | Leo X.

Peter, five from the life of St. Paul, one of each to hang at the sides of the altar, four more on the walls at right angles to it; the limits of the space that remained to be covered were the balustrade which separated the clergy from the congregation. The first payment for the cartoons on June, 1515, the last on the 21st of Dec. 1516, reveal the beginning and the end of the work.\* The "Miraculous Draught" and the "Conversion of St. Paul" were the subjects chosen for the sides of the altar, to the right and left came the series relating to each of the apostles. Vasari says that Raphael executed the whole of these cartoons with his own hand. The cartoons themselves prove that he was greatly assisted by his journeymen, and that Penni and Giovanni da Udine, and occasionally Giulio Romano, were his daily companions.†

The first impression for the "Miraculous Draught" differed materially from the second, which found a place in the tapestries. A reference to the 5th chapter of St. Luke, which occurs on a design at the Albertina, shows Raphael's close adherence to the text of scripture. Christ has been teaching the people from "out of the ship;" he has left the shore of Gennesaret with Peter and Andrew, and the miracle is depicted in the distance. Three men are in converse on the

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\* The payments were made to Raphael by Cardinal Bibiena, who drew on the Fabbrica of St. Peter's. The records are in Fea, *Notizie*, p. 8. But the payments which he registers, viz.: 300 ducats first,

and 134 ducats after, do not, as we shall see, make up the whole sum received by the painter.

† Vas. viii. 47 and 242. Penni was employed chiefly on the compositions of the borders.

banks to the left; near them the fishermen's wives and children, one with a runlet to quench their thirst, another asleep awaiting their return. One of the children observes the wonder, and a female, attentive to his cry, awakes her drowsy companion. Christ in the distance, sits in the bow of the boat, and Peter kneels to him, whilst Andrew propels the skiff in oriental fashion. The second boat is filled with the two partners drawing the net, and the third steering. On the back of the sheet the incident of the fishing, alone, indicates a change in Raphael's purpose. But Andrew is still at the oar.

The idea of fishermen forsaking their families to follow Christ is embodied in the first thought for the picture. The second conveys more grandly the accomplishment of a miracle.\*

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\* *Miraculous Draught.* Albertina. Pen and bistre sketch, heightened with white. 8 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. h. by 14 $\frac{1}{2}$ . Andrew here is naked to the waist. The drawing is much injured by retouching. The models who sat for the men in the foreground are the same as the Andrew and John in the cartoon of Christ delivering the Keys. In a corner: "LVC. c. v."

On the back of the sheet, the two skiffs with the six figures are repeated. Their sketchy character seemed to Passavant, we think wrongly, to exclude the name of Raphael (ii. 432). With the exception of Andrew the composition is like that of the cartoon.

After the Vienna sketch comes

a drawing at Windsor, in the same form as the cartoon, but without the fishes. Andrew's oar is on the platform, from which he is stepping. This drawing, washed with Indian-ink, and flake white hatchings, is 7 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. h. by 12. It might be the work of Penni. The replica of this sheet, in the same collection, is not genuine, a defect which it shares with a similar example, No. 117, at Oxford.

If we could fancy Raphael asking one of his pupils to reverse the design to see its effect in the arras, we might ascribe to a clever disciple the pen-and-ink sketch of the skiff and its inmates in the Museum of Berlin. But as the groups here are in the same line as

In the cartoon of the "Miraculous Draught" at Kensington, the skiffs of Peter and his companions are within a few yards of the shore. Christ sits at the bows in profile, a noble figure of commanding serenity. The forefinger, raised to Heaven, appears to indicate the Redeemer's divine power, and his right to command. Peter kneels at the bottom of the boat, and with joined hands adores the presence of Christ; his manly frame and rugged face with its curly locks and bushy beard are ennobled by an expression of intense faith and devotion. St. Andrew, with outstretched arms stepping down from the poop, is about to imitate Peter's example. The skiff is full of the fish so wonderfully and abundantly caught. The skate, the conger, the tunny and dog-fish, the mackerel, the mullet, and others besides, are portrayed by Giovanni da Udine with the same truth as the three cranes that call on the bank, or the gulls that hover in the air, and impart such perspective depth to the sky. The clever suggestion that the fishermen will land, and the cranes and gulls will take their share of the prey, is admirably given by Raphael. Close to the first boat, the second slightly overlaps it. Two young men are drawing the net, one looking round at the

those in the tapestry, it may be that the Berlin sketch is a copy, though it is not an exact copy. The grasp of the hand in the steersman of the second boat is altered. The bold line of the pen seems more modern than that of Raphael's direct pupils. The fish, and the oar on the thwart, are absent. The

drawing is on paper, spotted by age, and worn away at the upper right corner. It is  $9\frac{1}{2}$  in. h. by  $16\frac{1}{2}$ , British. A drawing of the "Miraculous Draught," No. 1223, at the Uffizi, a variety of the tapestry ascribed to the school of Raphael, seems modern and spurious.

Redeemer, the other gazing at the water. Both are stooping, and the force of their muscular arms is strained by the load. At the stern the steersman lies, directing the course with his scull, the very picture of a river-god like the Nile on the Square of the Capitol at Rome. In Ghirlandaio's St. Peter and St. Andrew at the Sixtine the dimensions of the vessels on the lake are natural and reasonable. In Raphael they seem too frail and too small to hold the inmates and cargo. But the grand conventionalism of the classic age which Raphael so closely studied at this time, taught him to reduce these details to mere indications of the reality. In the sculptured works of the ancients to which he appealed, he found dwellings and receptacles which were merely meant for suggestions. No one thought of criticising such things amongst the Romans. No one noticed them in Raphael's cartoon. Trifles of this kind were forgotten in the contemplation of admirable waves of line and magic effects of light and shade. The bronzed frames of working men in short tunics bound with ropes, or drapery scantily covering their shoulders and loins, gave him leisure to depict manly forms perfect in proportion and shape, and worthy of becoming fishermen of souls, when the garments of daily wear were exchanged for the draperies of apostles. Far away to the horizon the waters of Gennesaret extend, under a light hazy sky; and along the banks to the right people are busy near the walls of cities filled with lofty buildings. On the bank near the cranes, the sedges grow on oozy ground on which a rich choice of shells



is strewn. Of colour Raphael made the simplest and most primitive use, limiting himself to the primary scale fitted for reproduction in tapestry.\* When the

\* *The Miraculous Draught*. Kensington Museum. The history of this cartoon is that of the six companion cartoons which came into the Collection of Charles I. They had been sent to Brussels to an arras-maker, and were never returned. The "Conversion of Paul" was sold to Cardinal Grimani, who had it, or a copy of it, in 1521 (see Anonimo, ed. Morelli, p. 77). The "Miraculous Draught," with its six companions, is said, by Dorigny, in his dedication of the engravings from the cartoons to George I. (1712), to have been purchased for a large sum at the recommendation of Rubens, by Charles I. When Van der Doort drew up his catalogue of the King's Collection at Whitehall, in 1639, he noted "some two cartoons of Raphael Urbin for hangings" in a slit wooden case in a passage room, the other five having been delivered by the King's appointment to Francis Cleane, at Mortlake, to make hangings by. (See Scharf's *Royal Picture Galleries*, p. 344.) After Charles I.'s death, Cromwell purchased the cartoons for the nation for £300. They were hung up in a room built for them by Wren at Hampton Court in the reign of William III., and are now at Kensington Museum, after many wanderings.

The "Miraculous Draught" is about 13 ft. h. by 17 or 18. Its

condition is this: Having been cut into several vertical strips and repasted, the parts at the edges of each strip are frayed and restored. Other parts have also been gone over, for instance: the whole of the water, landscape, and sky; and during this operation the halos have been injured and repainted, as well as the profiles of Christ and the steersman, and the hands of Peter. There are also patches of abrasion and retouching in the cheek, neck, and hands of the Saviour, His brown, originally red, tunic, the neck and hands of Peter, and the forehead and beard of the steersman.

The cartoon has lost part of its surface at the base and sides, the back of Christ, and the left hand and part of the figure of the steersman being cut off as well as the feet of the cranes and the weeds in the foreground—all of which are to be found complete in the tapestry. The cartoon, like the rest of the series, is painted with sized colours, in a very simple scale of tones; no subtle gradations, difficult to reproduce in the weaving, but broad masses of light and shade; no glazing, the forms so defined that they were afterwards all mapped out by pinholes, which enabled the weavers to take the impress on the back of the canvas. The tapestries, being worked from behind, necessarily came out in reverse.

subject came to be woven, it appeared in reverse, fringed with beautiful borders, inclosing meanders and figures, illustrating the Seasons or cognate subjects;—at the top the arms of the Medici, at the bottom, an episode or episodes relating to the history of Leo, or incidents in the legend of the saints represented in the picture. Beneath the “Miraculous Draught” Leo appears riding with his suite of cardinals, at the gates of Rome. On the left a female stands behind an allegorical impersonation of the Arno. On the right, a captain, in classic military dress, welcomes the Pontiff, and Rome is suggested by the Tiber lying at his feet, his left elbow on a she-wolf, and a cornucopia in his hand. We observe in these river gods, the classic shapes of the Nile at the Vatican, or the Nile and Tiber in the Square of the Capitol, not copied, or imitated with servility, but transformed and restored to a new life by the art of Raphael.\*

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\* *The Miraculous Draught.* The history of this tapestry will serve for the whole series now preserved at the Vatican. We shall see that it was not woven at Arras, but at Brussels. At Leo X.'s death the tapestries were pawned for 5000 ducats. In 1527, at the sack of Rome, they were sold by the soldiers of the Constable of Bourbon, who cut the “Elymas” in two, by which the lower half was lost. Two, including the “Conversion of St. Paul,” found their way to Constantinople, where they were bought and restored to Julius III. by Anne de Montmorency in

1553. The rest were on sale at Lyons in 1530, where Clement VII. bargained for their repurchase. They seem to have been in the Vatican in 1545, when Titian copied the “Miraculous Draught,” of which he afterwards used an episode in an altarpiece at Serravalle. They were copied in oil for Louis XIV. and the copies are still in the Cathedral of Meaux. Sold in 1798, after the occupation of Rome by the French, for 1250 piastres a-piece, they were taken to Paris and exhibited there. Pius VII. purchased them in 1818, and they have since remained in

The cartoon of the "Conversion of St. Paul," which came as early as 1521 into the collection of Cardinal Grimani at Venice, is only recorded in catalogues of the time.\* But the tapestry, which remains at the Vatican, displays an admirably balanced composition, in which St. Paul and the horses are adapted with great cleverness from Lionardo's "Battle of Anghiari." So close at times is the resemblance between Raphael's figures and those of Da Vinci, that each of them can be distinctly traced. The charger of St. Paul, caught by a servant, is like that of the captain stopped by the man at arms in the Florentine cartoon; the build and stride and twisted tails of the animals ridden by soldiers are similar in both places.† Yet these contributions from contemporary masterpieces are all covered by the originality of the arrangement, and especially by the energy and expression shown in the Saviour, who descends in a cloud and stretches out his hand as he utters the words:—"Saul, why persecut-

the Vatican. See Gaye, *Carteggio*, ii. p. 222; and an inscription recording Pius VII.'s purchase in the border of the arras of the "Miraculous Draught."

A shaded bistre drawing of the tapestry frieze representing Gio. de' Medici entering Rome, No. 118, at Oxford, 9 in. h. by 11, seems probably by Penni.

A replica, now no longer exhibited at the Louvre, is described by Pass. (ii. 513).

\* Anon., ed. Morelli, p. 77.

† Raphael's study of Lionardo's "Battle" is shown very strongly

in a black chalk and pen drawing of thirteen nude footmen and riders fighting, 10½ in. h. by 16½, in the Albertina of Vienna. The movement and intertress of the figures is quite *Lionardesque*, and most powerfully rendered. Five of the men are on horseback, all in the act of striking. Two, in the centre of the foreground, have fallen or been beaten to the ground, one with his back, the other with his face, to the spectator. We know of no picture in which this sketch was used.

est thou me?" The servants, halting, appalled by the voice of Christ, whose shape they cannot see, are all admirable for diversity of movement and action. On the right a shying charger emulates his master in the keen sense of fear which his motion displays. Others of Saul's following stand still and hesitate; and even their steeds prick up their ears in astonishment. On the foreground to the right a spearsman on foot runs to Saul's assistance, but the sound of the Redeemer's words arrests his course, and, poised on one leg, his face betrays the force of his sudden emotion. Saul, on the ground to the left, looks up with open mouth and glaring eyes, his legs and hands outstretched. His fall is suggested by the runaway horse pursued and stopped by the servants.\* A finely modelled drawing at Chatsworth with the spearsman in the foreground, and the two horsemen next him, alone gives an idea of the power displayed in the cartoon.†

\* *Conversion of St. Paul.* Vatican. This tapestry differs in size from others done from the cartoons. At Berlin, where the arras now hangs, which once belonged to Henry VIII. of England, the arm of the servant, running after Saul's horse, is seen in full. At the Vatican it is cut off at the shoulder. In short, the Berlin example is larger by a considerable strip at the left and upper sides.

† Chatsworth. Red chalk study. 12 in. h. by 9. This splendid drawing shows the three figures as they were in the cartoon, i.e., in reverse, and in motion from left

to right.

The same drawing, in the Teyler Collection at Haarlem, did not appear to us to be genuine, though Pass. (Raphael, ii. p. 460) seems willing to vouch for it. In the Chatsworth example the head of the man running with the spear is turned away, and we see the back of it; whilst in the tapestry it appears in profile. The body in the drawing is clothed in a model's shirt and drawers. The horse of the rider is merely indicated. The helmet of the third figure is simpler than that in the tapestry.

The lower edging of the tapestry contains a fine relief of the "Persecution of the Christians by Saul." The future apostle sits like a Roman consul on the left, with a lictor in front of a crosstree to which a prisoner is led for decapitation. Further off towards the right, pagan legionaries attack and massacre their helpless opponents. Some Christians lie dead on the ground; others are reserved for execution. The incidents of this subject closely resemble those of the "Battle of Ostia," and like them, are spirited adaptations from the reliefs of the Trajan and Antonine columns. The Roman dress of the *dramatis personæ* increases the resemblance, whilst isolated episodes, the dead on the ground, and fighting soldiers on foot and horse-back recall the finished work of antique cameos, or the urn of Constantine and Helena in the Museum of the Vatican.\*

Similar friezes on the rest of the tapestries give a clue to the positions which they severally occupied. The series to the left illustrates the principal incidents in the life of Leo X., that to the right, the story of St. Paul. Under "Christ's Charge to Peter," we find the "Plunder of the Medici palace at Florence." To the right, the partisans of the family, repulsed by their

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\* Amongst the combatants in this subject, there is a man aiming a blow at a fugitive whom he has caught by the hair, which is one of the episodes in the Windsor sketch for the "Massacre of the Innocents," and a pen drawing once in the Collection of Dr. Johnson at Oxford. The variety here

is that the soldier arrests a man, whilst in the drawings he arrests a woman. The dead Christian in the right foreground lies horizontally, like similar figures in the Trajan column. The kneeling Christians are like those on the urn of Constantine.

enemies who swarm at the gate of the palace with bas-reliefs in their hands, taking away marble blocks and vases, and books, or dragging off in a two-wheeled barrow, the larger fragments of torsos and busts. Near this, an allegorical figure of Florence in antique costume, sits wailing at the loss of the Medici, as Pietro and Giuliano, in Florentine dress, and Giovanni in a monk's frock, escape from the city. A giant raising the crust of the earth, denotes the revolutionary earthquake which drove the family from Tuscany. Two graceful pilasters at the sides of the tapestry, represent the Seasons and the Fates.\* Beneath the "Stoning of Stephen," to which there are no pilaster decorations, Giovanni de' Medici appears as he entered Florence, in the character of a Legate under the papacy of Innocent VIII. The care with which this subject was studied, is shown in two sketches in Paris and Vienna, in which we recognize the hand of Penni.†

\* There are no extant drawings of this frieze. It is conceived and arranged like the others in the spirit of the reliefs of the Trajan and Antonine columns, but with some intermixture of classic costume and Florentine dress. The wailing figure of Florence has some resemblance to one on a relief in the pedestal of a colossal statue of Triumphant Rome in the Cortile of the Capitol.

† Paris. Louvre. No. 584 of the catalogue of 1845. Not exhibited at present. Pen and bistre sketch, washed and heightened

with white. 0·11 h. by 0·40. The execution is careful, but cold. It may have been worked out from Raphael's sketch by Penni. Two rivers—as in the frieze : on a hill to the right a figure resting its head on its hand. To the left Florence, allegorically represented by a female, and Cardinal de' Medici on a mule before the magistrates and people, followed by two cardinals.

*Albertina.* Same form as the foregoing, but with the figures a little closer together. A third drawing of the same subject was

Recumbent figures of river-gods fill the corners of the picture. The Tiber looks down as if mourning for the departure of the Legate. The Arno, on the opposite side, looks up; and an allegory of Florence, a female in classic dress at the gates of a temple, welcomes the cardinal, who rides with his prelates and suite, to greet the magistrates of the republic. Two scenes are depicted on the edging of the "Healing of the Lame Man." To the right, Cardinal Giovanni on horse-back is assailed and captured by cavalry. Behind him the fight is still raging, whilst a charger struggles in the stream in which two vessels are engaged. The Ronco, on which the battle of Ravenna was fought, is represented by an antique river deity. To the left, the cardinal escapes from captivity, and rides, attended by his friends, in presence of a naiad, who rests, lance in hand, near a fountain. The will-o'-the-wisp in the reeds behind the naiad, and the cottage on a rising ground near him, are supposed to be an allusion to the danger to which Leo was exposed when imprisoned in a dove-cote, preparatory to his being delivered up.\* Passing from these incidents to those beneath the "Ananias," we observe the "Harangue of Ridolfo," chief of the Florentine Republic, and the welcome of Giovanni to his native city. The scene of the first is the vestibule of the palace, where Ridolfo at the top of the steps, addresses the multitude. Near the foreground to the right, spec-

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sold as a Raphael at the sale of the King of Holland and purchased by Mr. Woodburn for 250

florins in August, 1850. Its present owner is unknown (not seen).

\* Waagen, Treasures, ii. 395.

tators sit or climb on the pediment of Michaelangelo's "David" at the entrance of the Palazzo Vecchio, and a woman of the people fondling a baby stands with an older child before her, near a corpulent man of the lower class who lingers in wonder with his finger in his mouth.\* The Arno again figures in the second relief with an allegorical representation of Florence, and in front, the magistrates bow to the cardinal, whose palfrey is followed by prelates and servants. A river-god closes the scene, and a beautiful pilaster encloses Faith, Hope, and Charity, in niches connected by arabesques.

The scenes from the life of St. Paul in the series to the right, are less interesting and less ably composed than those which illustrate the history of Leo. Their sequence is interrupted by the loss of the lower half of the tapestry of "Elymas." Yet enough is left to show the spirit with which these pieces were composed. Under "St. Paul at Lystra," the saint kisses and receives blessings from friends before leaving Antioch. He is again seen in company of six Christians. Another picture shows him expounding scripture in a synagogue. A pilaster on one side of this tapestry shows a pretty ornament of grotesques and figures of great animation. The edging beneath the "Sermon at Athens" is divided into four fields by

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\* *Ridolfo's Harangue.* Louvre. No. 585 of the catalogue of 1845 (not exhibited at present). Pen drawing, washed with umber and white. 0·13 h. by 0·42. This drawing feebly gives the composi-

tion of Raphael. It is probably by Penni. The "David" of Michaelangelo, apparently in Raphael's memory, is yet not correctly copied from the original.



Caryatidæ; and, in the spaces, St. Paul is depicted weaving, derided by the Jews, imposing his hand on Christians at Corinth, and appearing before Gallion, Governor of Achaia. The two pilasters of this piece of arras are fine; to the right, the hours are parted by a large dial; to the left, amidst appropriate grotesques, Hercules carries the celestial sphere which he took from Atlas. The series closes with the frieze of St. Paul's prison, where a figure of a soldier or a pilgrim is seen holding a staff, and receiving the homage of a kneeling man.

No more precious illustrations of the industry with which the masters of the revival used examples of ancient art have ever been displayed, than those produced by Raphael and his disciples in the river-gods or allegories of cities in the borders of the Vatican tapestries. Two of these representations were noted in connection with the "Miraculous Draught." Four more adorn the remaining subjects. Beneath the "Stoning of Stephen," the Arno and Tiber, with bearded faces, cornucopias, vases and reeds, recall the antiques designated as "Oriens" and "Occidens" on the arch of Constantine at Rome, or a figure copied by Bartoli from the aqueduct of Vespasian. The Ronco, under the tapestry of the "Beautiful Gate," resembles the "Occidens" in reverse. A mixture of antique feeling and Michaelangelesque proportions, appears in the Arno beneath the "Ananias," yet the figure seems adapted from the Tigris in the Museum of the Vatican. There is no evidence of an extensive survey of the classic in the cities of the Peninsula.

But we may well believe that when Raphael thought the near sources exhausted, he sent "designers to Pozzuoli and Greece," \* in order to leave no specimens unvisited. His purpose was not to copy or transfer the originals into his pictures, but to study and take from them the principles of art which they embodied.

The subjects comprised in the series of pictures descriptive of the acts of St. Peter, would have been trying to any painter less skilled than Raphael. In the "Delivery of the Keys," a stroke of genius is displayed in the separation of the ten disciples from Christ, by the kneeling figure of St. Peter. By an arrangement equally simple and grand, the Saviour is depicted alone on the left side of the composition, showing conspicuously an ideal head, and proportions superior to those of his followers. On the right, the ten are brought together and grouped with such consummate artifice, that all except one are completely or sufficiently seen. The foremost place is naturally given to Andrew and John the Evangelist, both easily recognizable as the fishermen of the "Miraculous Draught," raised by faith to noble representatives of their mission. Varied stride or position, different stature, gesture, features, and expression, give so much life to the group, the landscape is so happily designed, that the effect of the lines alone is magic. This effect is intensified by a distribution of colours and shadow, and a flow of drapery which are nothing less than perfect. Christ's breast and left arm are

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\* Vas. viii. p. 41.

bare. His long hair falls in waving locks about his neck. He looks at the ten disciples as he points to Peter; his right hand is directed to the flock of sheep behind him. A long mantle drops from his left shoulder to the ground, leaving his legs exposed. The Stigmata are displayed. The face rivals that of Lionardo in the "Last Supper," at Milan;—so grand is the form, and so beautiful its union of benignity and serenity. St. Peter in profile looks up with an air of the deepest faith, and most unalterable trust, the keys are in his grasp, and his hands crossed over his breast. Andrew at his side is stern yet surprised. John comes forward affectionate and prayerful. The rest are resigned, determined, thoughtful, grave, in infinite varieties. On the shore to the right a skiff is aground, emblem of Peter's profession, the lake is cut out into reaches, magnificent steeples crown a slope on the shore. Further inland a high and distant hill, in front of it projections of rocks covered in part with trees. Out of a gate in the wall behind St. Andrew, a road appears on which a woman carries a load and leads a child, and a shepherd heads his flock. Raphael's art in this picture is formed of the elements which distinguish Masaccio in the "Tribute to Cæsar" at the Carmine. It embodies the principles which received their final exposition in the precepts of Lionardo.\* The steps by which these ideas ex-

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\* *Christ's Charge to Peter.* Kensington. This cartoon is discoloured at the edges of the strips, which were joined in setting up

the picture. If we number the figure of Christ as one, and the disciples in succession up to twelve, we shall find a particularly bad

panded and ripened are seen in the drawings and studies which Raphael made or left for completion in the hands of his assistants. At Windsor, the composition is reversed, with the Saviour in profile, pointing to Heaven, and Peter and his partners in the undress of models. The seventh and eighth apostle are in the same position as those in the cartoon, each figure excellent as a reproduction of nature in momentary action.\* Christ alone is studied in a red chalk drawing at the Louvre, similar in pose to that in the Windsor sheet.† The whole composition reappears at

joint along the right-hand side of the Saviour's face and down his breast. Another down the beard and ear of Andrew (No. 3). Yet another by the ear of No. 7; a fourth down the middle of the head of No. 11. The head of Peter no longer joins the shoulders correctly. Peter's foot, and the hands of the Evangelist, have suffered from retouching and scaling; the face and foot of the latter have been outlined afresh. Amongst the other figures altered by patching are, No. 5 (beard), No. 6 (hair), No. 7 (forehead), No. 8 (hair, flesh, and foot), and No. 11 (mantle and foot). The disciples who worked with Raphael in this piece seem to be Penni and Giovanni da Udine. The landscape and sky, probably by the latter, have been retouched in many places, and chiefly in the clouds.

\* Windsor. Red chalk study. 12 in. h. by 15. Probably identical with that described by Richardson (u. s., p. 31) in the Bonfiglioli

palace at Bologna. Christ is seen on the right in profile to the left, without the right forearm, the left raised as if the model held a pole. St. Andrew is omitted, likewise the last disciple (12). This drawing is described as an "off-track" (touch proof) "of the partly destroyed original." There is some apparent truth in this description, for the hatching is carried out in the Windsor sheet from left to right as if it had been done with the left hand; and this appearance would naturally be produced by an impression reversing the original.

† Louvre. No. 314. Figure of Christ in red chalk. 0.253 h. by 0.134. This probably was the original first impression of the Saviour looking down, in profile, with his hand raised as if holding a pole. The position is exactly the reverse of that in the Windsor design. It is a masterly study by Raphael himself, and shows more truly than any other, his own

the Louvre as it was finally wrought, finished, and squared for use by Gian Francesco Penni.\* The cartoon itself was doubtless in a great measure the work of that disciple. But he was watched and directed at every turn by the master, whose hand evidently gave the finishing touches, and brought out the finely modelled heads which we still admire under the stains of age, and the patchings of restorers. If Giovanni da Udine was employed, it must have been on the landscape which so finely brings out and improves the composition. When the tapestry was hung at the Vatican, it showed some curious transformations. The white vestments of Christ had been turned into star-bespangled stuff edged with golden phylacteries; borders of a similar kind were introduced into the dress of St. Peter; the heads assumed a Transalpine air, and the draperies were cast into folds slightly disfigured by Flemish irregularities.† But previous to the despatch of the models to Flanders, it would seem that copies were kept for the

feeling. It is unfortunately patched and restored. Two small pieces have been let into the paper on the left side; another much larger piece on the right. Half the left foot and a fragment of the left arm are new.

\* *Christ's Charge to Peter.* Louvre. No. 1610. Chalk and pen drawing, heightened with white, and squared for transfer. 0·222 h. by 0·354. From the Collections of J. Stella, Duke of Orleans, and Coypel. Sold and bought for the French Royal

Collection in 1753. This drawing corresponds to the cartoon, but is without the skiff or the sheep. The figure of Christ is all clothed, the head aged and heavily bearded. The draughtsman is probably Penni. The surface has suffered from wear and retouching.

A poor, washed copy, of the foregoing in the Windsor Collection. Another is No. 1221 at the Uffizi.

† The history of this tapestry is that of the other pieces already described.

purpose of providing against accidents and losses, and fine fragments of these copies in various collections lead us to suppose that they were executed under Raphael's supervision.\*

The cartoon of the "Stoning of Stephen," which shared the fate of the "Conversion of St. Paul," is

\* *Copies of the Cartoons.* Louvre. No. 331. Red and black chalk. 0·461 h. by 0·334. Bust of the Apostle, fourth from the right side of the cartoon of "Christ's charge to Peter," in two horizontal pieces pasted together, showing a line across the face above the nostril. This fragment is much repainted, yet still in the character of work done by Raphael's disciples. It is patched and partly injured in the eye and elsewhere.

*Chantilly.* Collection of the Duke d'Aumale. Perhaps the same described by Richardson in the Crozat Collection (*u. s.*, p. 13). Eight heads of Apostles put together in three sheets (severally, 0·610 and 0·570 h. by 0·750 and 0·380 h. by 0·500) in the same style as the Louvre specimen. Whether the head at the Louvre, and the heads at Chantilly, are fragments of a complete cartoon, is uncertain. We find a fragment of Christ's left arm in the Museum at Oxford (see *postea*). The Chantilly heads are pasted over landscape backgrounds by a separate hand.

The Oxford fragment, No. 119, distemper on paper, 12 in. h. by 20½, is in the same style as the foregoing heads. Two fragments,

similar to those at Chantilly, are in the palace of Weimar, and another in possession of Lord Lansdowne at Bowood. The probability that copies were made as above stated is increased by the knowledge which we now possess that Leo X. sent Thomas Vincidor of Bologna, a painter who had studied at Rome, to Flanders with a brief signed by Bembo in 1520, and that—apparent result of this mission—Leo presented a set of the tapestries done from Raphael's designs to Henry VIII. of England, in recognition of his published Treatise against the principles of Luther, and conferred on the King at the same time (1521) the title of "Defender of the Faith." (See Scharf's *Royal Picture Galleries*, *u. s.*, pp. 309–10.) We shall see, *postea*, what became of those tapestries: whether they were done from the original cartoons or from the copies is uncertain. But Vincidor may have taken the latter with him in case of emergencies. Consult Pinchart in the *Revue Universelle des Arts*, August, 1858, who gives Bembo's brief in full. Modern copies of the cartoons are at Knole, at the Academy in London, and at Moscow.

only known by the tapestry at the Vatican. But the original sketch at the Albertina proves how closely Raphael's first impression was based on a scriptural text. The two moments illustrated in the sketch, are those when Stephen "being full of the Holy Ghost, looked up stedfastly to heaven," and "the people, having cast him out of the city, laid down their clothes and stoned him."\* Saul sits naked in the foreground to the left, pointing to Stephen, who kneels in the midst of his persecutors, and looks up with an inspired glance. One of the witnesses near Saul divests himself of his garments; the rest have all done the same. The groups at each side of the martyr are variously occupied; to the left, three are carrying stones; one, to the right, is in the act of striking, two more are throwing, and one stoops to pick up the instruments of death. The principle on which the distribution rests, is akin to that in the "Charge to Peter," and founded on the contrast between the kneeling martyr and his standing persecutors. The movements are given with the impulse and rapidity which Raphael would naturally acquire after studying them from the model. They are thrown off with unparalleled facility from memory.†

In the tapestry the figures are disposed with less art than those in the sketch, yet not without great variety in movement. St. Stephen turns to the right, and kneels in deacon's dress, with his arms

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\* Acts, vii. 55, 58.

† *Stoning of Stephen.* Albertina.

Pen sketch. 10½ in. h. by 16½.

Ten figures.

outstretched. He "calls upon God" whom he sees, with "the Son of Man, in the clouds."\* The followers of Saul are all draped, Saul himself in tunic and mantle at the right hand corner of the picture, seated, and directing the execution. The tormentors, are all massed on the left, one of them strides forward in the act of hurling a piece of rock with both hands. Three others, admirably combined, cast missiles from a distance, and a fifth, stoops in the left foreground to pick up stones. The action of this man, a masterpiece of difficult foreshortening, closely resembles that of John and his brother bending to their net in the "Miraculous Draught," and connects the conception of the cartoon with that which almost immediately preceded it. But the muscular shape of the figure reveals the hand of Giulio Romano who afterwards painted the "Lapidation," for San Stefano of Genoa. The tapestry is second only to the original design, in the energy and varied movement of the actors in the scene. Christ in profile appearing to Stephen, is attended by three winged seraphs, whose motions as they open the clouds, are equally graceful and original. A beautiful landscape reminds us of the castle-crowned hills in the vicinity of Rome.†

"Peter and John at the Beautiful Gate," is conspicuous amongst Raphael's cartoons for grandeur of conception and variety of movement and expression. The scene is laid in a portico which only differs from

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\* Acts, vii. 59.

† The history of the tapestry is | the same as that of the "Miraculous Draught" (see *antea*).



that of a Greek or Roman temple in the twist of the pillars. It is supposed that Raphael was led to adopt this twist from columns, which were used at St. Peter's and said to have formed part of the Temple of Jerusalem.\* The simpler lines of the Greeks would, perhaps, have had a better effect. But the twist is in harmony with the supernatural ugliness of the cripples whose shapes they enframe. Ugliness is less studied in Raphael than it was in Lionardo, who tried to perpetuate types which combined deformity with baseness. But, if ugliness could by any means be intensified by grotesque surroundings, the columns of the "Beautiful Gate" are well fitted for the purpose. They are varied by ornaments of vines and other plants, enlivened with figures of children, alternating with stretches of spiral fluting rising from acanthus leaves. Within the space between the central pillars St. Peter stands in the act of benediction, before a cripple whose hand he has taken. The ragged jerkin and shirt which cover the wrung flesh of this monster contrast with the ample drapery of the apostle, whose dignified air and compassionate look are balanced with equal cleverness by the coarse-grained features and ignoble face of the being whom he blesses. But besides this, the beggar is deformed; his feet are rigid, his right leg shrivelled and bent over the left, and nothing but a miracle can give him power to rise and use these limbs. But the working of the wonder is suggested by the strain on the hand in Peter's

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\* Pass. ii. p. 198.

grasp, and some show of pain in the face of the sufferer. The subtlety of the lines is so great, the action so clever, that one feels that the man will rise on the crutched stick in his right hand and be healed. There is nothing repulsive in the scene, no show of sores, but a straightforward display of deformity such as Masaccio exhibits in the same subject at the Carmine of Florence, but with the addition of all the elements of high art which passed through the later masters of Tuscany before they came to their final expansion in Raphael. St. John at Peter's side, contemplates the sick man with melancholy sympathy, and three of the poor near him look on with various display of expectation and surprise. Sneering unbelief is reserved for the figure of the second cripple, between the pillars to the right. He supports himself, kneeling, on a staff, and looks wistfully at St. Peter, a ragged shirt through which the naked arms are thrust, covers a gaunt shape balanced by both hands, resting on the pole. A leather thong, to which a runlet is hung, gathers the shirt, in loose folds about the hips. The scant life in the frame is represented by thin spirals of hair on the chin, a bare skull, and leathery skin. The protruding under lip and small bleary eye indicate the low cunning of the professional mendicant. But the vulgarity of this ill-favoured apparition is so finely balanced by the beauty and innocence of a young mother with a babe in her arms, in its rear, and by men and women intent on the miracle, that the pictorial harmony of the whole remains perfect. To the left, a man in a mantle, in

deep thought, stops on his way to the Temple, whilst a naked boy looks up and clutches his garment, as if to warn him that his party—a woman carrying a basket of pigeons on her head, and leading a boy with two doves, strung to a stick—are passing and may be separated from him. Curious example of the diversity which may be caused by the use of assistants of different gifts, the boy with the doves, is a beautiful chubby child, with a mirthful face, not without pride at the honour of carrying his parent's offering. He looks as if Raphael had painted him, or at least run over the lines of Penni's work, whilst the other boy, an older one, in rapid and spirited motion, is marred by exaggerated muscle, a red brick tinge of flesh tone and opaque shadows, peculiar to Giulio Romano. The fine gradations of tone which originally distinguished the cartoon, may be caught here and there, from parts accidentally spared by the patching of restorers. The open air in front, the light sky through the pillars to the left, the gloom of the niche and colonnade to the right, dimly illumined by hanging lamps, must have been highly effective. Technically the execution would have been better had Raphael taken a larger share in it. But his is the perfect distribution of the groups, and the contrasts which they convey, his the broad balance of light and shade in a moderate scale of colours.\*

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\* "Peter and John at the Beautiful Gate." Kensington. Cartoon, coloured in distemper. The surface of this picture is dis-

figured by repainting, and, sad to say, the most injured part is the chief central group, on which Raphael himself probably gave

Raphael formed the "Death of Ananias" on the model of the "Disputa" and "School of Athens." He grouped the figures alternately on the floor and on a raised platform at the back of it. The idea of a humble and nascent community is conveyed by the rude planking of a raised platform with wooden railings, which suggests the hasty establishment of a Christian presbytery. Pictorial effect is produced by covering the floor with kneeling figures and the upper stage with standing apostles. A beautiful ellipse is brought out by connecting episodes on the right and left. The congregation stands at the extremes, whilst two apostles on the left side of the platform stoop to distribute alms to the poor below. The centre of the action is the recumbent Ananias, who falls dying on the right. He lies sharply fore-shortened on the floor, the naked limbs paralysed, yet still yielding and flexible, the head thrown back, the eye-balls inwards

some of the labour of his own hand. St. Peter's flesh and hair, as well as his dress, are heavily repainted, and opaque in shadows. But there are some clean places in the hand. St. John and the cripple are altered in the same way; and the carnations are tinged with an uniform red. Most of the nude parts, indeed, are retinted in this way; and, where this process has been omitted, the paper is bleached and discoloured. The second cripple is, perhaps, more damaged than the first by the change in the modelling of the arms. The head, however, is

better preserved than the rest. Of the background little, if any, is in its original state. The best preserved part of the picture is the woman with the baby in her arms, which seems exceptionally good work, due to Giulio Romano. The architecture and ornament are doubtless by Giovanni da Udine. There are no extant drawings for this cartoon. The tapestry has the same history as previous ones. A fragment of a copy of the cartoon, in the Guise Collection at Oxford, represents the woman carrying doves on her head.

One arm powerless, the other—the left—still feebly supporting the body and preventing it from falling—a frame of Herculean build, writhing in its agony—a coarse shape with a face of common type convulsed by pain. The lie of the torso and extremities is so natural that it seems taken from nature, yet suggests the same reminiscences of Da Vinci's "Battle of Anghiari," and the classic relief of Meleager overthrown by the Calydonian boar, as the Heliodorus or the river-god in Marcantonio's "Judgment of Paris." \* It is possible that other models were in the master's memory, since the movement is repeated in sculptural illustrations of Raphael's own time.† Bending over Ananias, two men are lost in astonishment; further back, Sapphira, unconscious of her husband's fate, counts the pieces which he kept back. A man and a woman come in with bundles of household linen. At the criminal's feet, a man on one knee starts back horror-struck, a woman behind him, crouching, shows amazement in her staring eyeballs and outstretched hands. Nothing more clever than the way in which Raphael used the design for the "Moses before the Burning Bush" in

\* Marcantonio engraved the "Ananias" in a celebrated copperplate on a design of Raphael.

† See *antea*, in the "Heliodorus." Consult also the Bible of 1512: "Epistolæ et Evangelii, Stamp. in Venetia per Marc Antonio di Fradeli da Sabio, MDXII.; Del Mese de Zugno." This rare edition of the epistles and gospels is in the Marucelliana library at

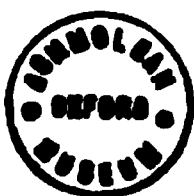
Florence, and contains, at p. 29, an illustration of Christ healing a man possessed of a devil whose figure, excepting the head—in profile—is an exact counterpart of the "Ananias." Baron Liphart, well-known for his erudition in matters relating to art, was the first to point out to us the importance of this illustration.

the Chamber of Heliodorus, to transform a movement of homage into one of shrinking and tremor. Behind these figures, the poor are kneeling or standing to receive alms from John and one of his companions. On the platform the place of command is held by St. Peter, who points to Ananias and sternly proclaims his punishment. Another apostle to the right of Peter points to Heaven as the seat of judgment. The rest of the eleven, ranged behind Peter, are variously moved by the accomplishment of the miracle. In the gloom to the left an old man and woman ascend a flight of steps, a low wall on the opposite side partly masks a landscape of hills, on which the light foliage of a tree is thrown. It is difficult to forget that Peter and his companions on the wooden stage, and Ananias on the ground, are conceived on the same lines as the "Plato," and "Aristotle," and the "Diogenes" of the "School of Athens." There is similar dignity and monumental simplicity of drapery in both. A grand contrast is created by the movement of the man intently looking at the dying criminal and the other man recoiling at the sight. Equally admirable is the balance of the people bringing contributions on one side, and the people receiving alms on the other. The whole system of church government is displayed at a glance.\*

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\* *Death of Ananias.* Kensington. Cartoon. Much of the surface of this picture has been repainted; and this is particularly manifest in the outlines and shadows. We contemplate a grand

composition to which, seemingly, the execution does not correspond. Yet we may presume that Raphael, besides designing and arranging the figures, and giving special attention to the prominent



The cartoon of "Elymas Struck with Blindness" takes us at once into that portion of the Acts of the Apostles which specially deals with the mission of St. Paul. None of the cartoons are more admirable for the majestic proportion of the figures than this one, none are more remarkable for the concentration of incident on one point in accordance with the precepts of Lionardo. The scene is a Roman tribunal with its curule chair, carved pillars, niches and bas-reliefs, conveying quite as effectively the idea of old established might in the Roman Empire as the platform in the "Ananias" suggests the rising power of the Christian Church. Elymas and Paul are before the proconsul Sergius, who presides with his lictors on the judgment-seat. Paul attended by Barnabas faces the tribunal, and stands, grandly draped in his tunic and mantle, before the proconsul. His powerful frame,

ones, left some marks of his own brush on the St. Peter and Ananias, and the men looking over the latter. The kneeling man, and terror-struck woman at his side, look like Giulio Romano's work. The flesh of these, and particularly that of the man, has been brought up to an uniform brick-tone, almost as harsh as the hose he wears. Black touches disfigure the eyes of the female, whose eyes are repainted like sloes. All the pinholes in the cartoon are filled up with new pigment. Penni's hand may be traced in the standing apostles between St. Peter, Sapphira, and her immediate neighbours.

For this cartoon we have also separate fragments which presuppose the existence of a copy attributable to Penni. One of these two numbers is at the Louvre. No. 333. 0·524 h. by 0·362. From the Jabach Collection, where it was catalogued under the name of Penni. Bust of the woman behind the kneeling man; life-size in chalk and distemper colour. Louvre. No. 334. Same size as the foregoing. Profile bust of the man receiving alms from John. These are very hard copies, and not by any of the better pupils of Raphael.

The tapestry has the same history as those previously described.

seen from behind, shows the head in profile, the left hand at his back, holding the Gospels, the right extended. The words have just issued from his lips and are taking effect on Elymas, who throws his arms forward, and stretches his neck seeking someone to assist him. The barbarian vestments of the sorcerer, his shoes, and turban, and the bands that swathe the wide covering of his limbs, give him a distinct and well marked aspect in contrast with the grander simplicity of the proconsular dress, and the mantles and tunics of the apostles. The suddenness and certainty of his punishment is finely conveyed by the gesture and look of the man who gazes at his face. Equally grand is the acknowledgment of the miracle in the youth near Sergius, the elders and women near Elymas and Sergius himself, who starts back terrified and convinced. Even the coarse lictors on the steps of the throne are affected by the incident. Barnabas prays and gives thanks to Heaven behind St. Paul. Raphael never conceived any subject more dramatically or with more appropriate emphasis. It is characteristic of the power which his art embodies that the effect is still produced in spite of unusual damage caused by repainting. It would be difficult to find a single inch of the cartoon that has not been covered over. But the splendour of the shapes and the action and gestures of the figures leave the distinct impression of Raphael's direct co-operation in the production of the picture. If on the one hand we admit the influence of Michaelangelo in the conception of figures of majestic breadth, on the other



we note reminiscences of the Brancacci chapel at Florence. St. Paul before Sergius may differ in stride from the St. Peter of Masaccio at the Carmine,\* but the profile of the head and the action of the arm vary but little in each picture;—another example to be added to earlier ones of the ease with which Raphael adapted the creations of his Tuscan precursors, and worked them out to a pitch of grandeur of which they had not dreamt. We shall presently see that Raphael was called to Florence in the autumn of 1515; and it may be that he renewed his acquaintance with Florentine masterpieces on that occasion.†

“St. Paul at Lystra” brings the life of the classic ages more powerfully before us than any other of Raphael’s cartoons. Here were pagans who believed that the apostles were not preachers of a new faith; but Gods come down upon earth in the human shape. The priest of Jupiter bringing oxen and garlands to the gates to do sacrifice with the people was a rehearsal before Paul of the oldest of antique rites. What was

\* Fresco in the Brancacci chapel at Florence, where St. Peter restores the boy to life.

† The “Blindness of Elymas.” Kensington. Cartoon. Here again all the pinholes are concealed under repaints. Particularly disfigured are: the hair and beard of Barnabas; the hair, hand, and dress of Paul; the head and beard of Elymas; and the whole of the two lictors. Sergius was more than once daubed over together with the niche and the

foreground. On the face of the tribunal we read: **SERGIUS PAVLVS ASIAE PROCŌS CHRISTIANVM FIDEM AMPLECTITVR SAVL PREDICATIONE.**

The tapestry here gives a fair idea of the picture. Its history is that of the rest of the series.

A sketch, in black chalk, heightened with white, with some stains and traces of squaring about it, is in the Royal Collection at Windsor. It is, however, a copy from the cartoon at Kensington.

more natural than that Raphael should look for subjects of sacrifice in the sculpture of the ancients, and revive with their assistance the spectacle that caused Paul and Barnabas to rend their clothes. To find these subjects was not so difficult as to select from amongst them the fittest examples. There is hardly a museum in Italy in which we shall not find even at the present day, such specimens as an artist would be glad to consult. As far north as Mantua bas-reliefs exist with figures akin to those of Raphael, the portable altar on which the priest is kindling the fire, the boy playing the pipes, the steer held down by the head, and the priest's assistant wielding the axe.\* On the Trajan column one of the scenes depicted is the sacrificial procession of the ox and ram; other forms are observable in reliefs from the Temple of Peace, now in the museum of the Capitol, in the carved work of the Arch of Constantine, or in fragments preserved in the gardens of Roman palaces. It is scarcely to be doubted that Raphael examined and treasured the greater part of these compositions, most of which were within his reach. But, favoured by Leo, he would naturally gain access to the collection which the Pope had brought together in his private palace, and there he observed the sacrifice of the bull, and the Sarcophagus illustrating the life of a hero, which were afterwards transferred by Clement VII. to Florence, and now adorn the gallery of the Uffizi. In each of these antiques he

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\* *Gesta di Lucio Vero*—relief in the Museum of Mantua.

would find something to suit his purpose. In the first the bull held down by the priest's assistant, the *Victimarius* raising his axe to deal the blow, the *Sacrificator* pouring the contents of a patera into the fire on the altar, and the boy playing the double pipe; in the second, the steer held by two men crowned with laurel leaves, and their comrade wielding a hatchet; in the third, the boy with the flour-box. Raphael combined all these incidents into his picture, a kneeling assistant in the middle of the foreground with a sheath of knives fastened to his belt holds the ox by nostril and horn. Two sacrificial priests with garlands of laurel on their brow are on their knees at his side.\* The *Victimarius*, naked to the waist like his colleague at the steer's head, prepares to strike the blow. Two high-priests gravely witness the act, which a youth struck by Paul's despair hastens to prevent. A second victim appears in the back-ground to the right, led by eager people. To the left, an equally eager man brings a ram. At the altar, where the fire is burning, a beautiful child plays the double pipe, whilst his companion, equally beautiful, holds the flour-box. The cause of all this commotion is displayed with great pictorial skill. In the fore-

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\* The kneeling assistant, holding the victim by the nose and horns, is the principal figure in a fragment now built into the wall facing the garden of the Villa Medici, now Academy of France, at Rome. Another fragment, in the same place, represents the as-

sistant leading an ox, followed by the *Victimarius* with his axe.

Yet another fragment, in the Court of the Ottobon palace, near the Corso at Rome, shows the *Sacrificator* carrying a vase and a dish of fruit, by the side of a man driving a pig.

ground to the right the cripple, whose lameness Paul had cured has dropped his crutches on the ground and walks raising his hands in token of thanksgiving. An incredulous spectator stoops to examine the limbs and raises the skirt of the dress to assure himself of the reality of the miracle. To the left, near the ram led to slaughter, Barnabas wrings his hands and St. Paul on the steps of the temple-gate droops his head and tears open his dress with both hands. The ox, and the man holding his head as well as the boy with the pipes, are taken from the first, the "Victimarius" from the second of the Medicean reliefs,\* the child with the flour-box from the arch of Constantine, the man with the ram from the column of Trajan. The whole of these elements are worked into a picture in which dramatic interest is wrought up to the highest pitch without any evidence of direct imitation, but with a careful adaptation of each part to the necessities of the design, and the addition of the incidents of the miracle and its consequences. The character of Lystra as a pagan city is suggested by the bronze statue of Mercury on a high pedestal, a classic rotunda with niches between Corinthian pilasters, a palace decorated with statues, and hills covered with Roman monuments and towers. If we admire the calm serenity and grandeur of Paul in the cartoon of Ananias, we shall here admire still more the outburst of grief which affects the same apostle, the pain expressed on the downcast face, the rending of the garments, the form in momentary action admirably

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\* Uffizi, No. 39 ; and Uffizi, No. 15.

seen under a noble sweep of drapery. Contrasts, as usual, are brought out finely in two ways—by line, where Paul's frantic movement is balanced by the calmer but not less decided motion of the man who leads the ram, by light and shadow, where the gloom in which Barnabas stands, and Paul is half obscured, is stretched, by projection, into space, leaving the child in white with the box and the child in green playing the pipes, conspicuously bright. How closely this cartoon is connected in respect of time with the "Camera dell' Incendio," may be observed from the fact that the mother inviting her child to pray in the "Fire of the Borgo" is adapted from the same Medicean relief from which Raphael took the groundwork of the "Sacrifice of Lystra."\* The cartoon is better preserved than that of "Paul before Sergius," yet still much injured; but Raphael had doubtless his share in the execution, leaving the more actively moved personages, such as the Victimarius, to be drawn by Giulio Romano, the smoother groups to the more flexible Penni, and the ornaments of the altar and background to Giovanni da Udine.†

\* Uffizi, No. 39.

† "St. Paul at Lystra." Kensington. Cartoon. It would be tedious to enumerate the parts most damaged by superposed colour, when all are, more or less, injured.

In the Oxford Museum is a bistre-drawing. No. 120. Copied from the tapestry. 6 in. h. by 8½. On the reverse a slight sketch, re-

calling the tapestry of "St. Peter at the Beautiful Gate." Feeble.

At Chatsworth, a very fine study in silver-point, on vellum, of the "St. Paul," pricked for transfer to the cartoon, bears the mark of Raphael's hand.

The tapestry at the Vatican, of which the history is not different from that of the rest of the series, shows that the cartoon was origin-

"St. Paul preaching to the Athenians," is perhaps less happy in conception than the "St. Paul at Lystra," yet it is a noble composition. The apostle has taken his station on the top of the steps which lead with picturesque indentations to the height of the Areopagus. The arrangement so cleverly made in the "Death of Ananias" is reversed. Paul stands "in the midst of Mars' Hill, the court of the Areopagus," in profile, his mantle cast round him and over his shoulder, leaving the arms free. With Demosthenic energy of invective he stretches both his hands upwards and speaks to the people beneath him. The effectiveness of his person and speech is naturally increased in the eyes of the spectator by the grandeur of his shape and the eloquence which speaks out of his gestures and expression, and the varied aspect of the listeners who observe him from the lower ground beneath the steps. A clear reminiscence of Filippino's "St. Paul addressing St. Peter" at the Carmine, is also preserved. But Raphael's apostle is thundering against ignorant worship, and moved with a greater passion than that of Filippino, whose movements are dictated by argument, and therefore more measured and cold. The light in the cartoon catches the apostle in flank, throws his profile and figure into broad shadow, and allows the painter to display the lines of his face and the lips in motion against the brightness of a light green sleeve. The Areopagus

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ally larger than it now is. Part of | man with the ram is in the  
the back and the second leg of the | tapestry, and not in the cartoon.

behind Paul is an open portico, near which an unfinished building of modern style shows a panelled vaulting, side arches in perspective, and rudiments of unfinished masonry. In the background to the right Mars is on a plinth, a bronze embodiment of the pagan faith which Paul is combating. The god gives his name to a round temple apparently the model of that on which Bramante once founded the Tempietto in the Court of San Pietro in Montorio. The portal under a circular colonnade, supported by a balcony with a simple balustrade, fronts the pedestal of Mars and is flanked by niches with statues. Sober in tone this building is flecked with lights here and there, but so tinted as to throw into brightness the forms of the listeners before it. Here the men of Athens are set in a segment of a circle, those nearest St. Paul seated, the rest standing, the foreground to the right being completed by the figures of Dionysius and Damaris who were the only converts of the apostle. The faith which they display by convinced look and sympathetic gesture is shown also by their movements up the steps of the Areopagus. In rear of Damaris the standing philosophers are swathed in their mantles, aged and young alike sunk in meditation. Behind, a bald grey-beard leaning his face and hands on a crutched staff eyeing St. Paul with glistening glance; four more in advance of him, of whom three are intent and one looking down with his fingers to his mouth. The seated group to the left is a masterpiece of concentration. Two elders on the back seats are listening to a third who

recapitulates the arguments for and against paganism and enforces his words with the fingers of one hand on the fingers of the other. At this, the man nearest Paul turns round to the speaker and points to the apostle, whilst his neighbour, with his feet crossed before him, twists his body in the opposite direction to take part in the conference. No master of the Italian revival, not excepting Lionardo, ever produced a more rapid or instantaneous exchange of feeling, and overcame at the same time every difficulty of movement and foreshortening. Meditation, curiosity, dispute, affirmation, and negation, are all depicted, while eloquence speaks in St. Paul and conviction in Dionysius and Damaris. The composition is closed on the left by a fat dignitary with his fingers in his belt, looking up to a bearded philosopher at his side who rests both hands on a stick, and a seated man on the steps. Between the buildings on both sides a street leads up the town. Two men converse at no great distance. Other people pursue their ordinary avocations. If there be any defect in the groups of listeners it is due, perhaps, to Penni's tendency to depict men of low stature. Raphael's own is doubtless the St. Paul, and the subtle play of light and shade throughout the picture. To Giovanni da Udine may be ascribed the painting of the architecture.\*

\* "St. Paul at Athens." Kensington. Cartoon. Fragments of colour are abraded in this piece. Other fragments are altered by repaints. A bad joint in the strips gives a line of bad fraying down a

pillar of the temple, and along the right side of the man standing nearest St. Paul, amongst the listeners on the right. The dress of Paul is opaque; the sleeves cut in two by a joint



“The prison of St. Paul,” of which the cartoon has not been preserved, is only known by the injured strip of tapestry in the Arras Chamber at the Vatican. It represents St. Paul in captivity at Philippi, where an earthquake shook the foundations of the gaol, and the keeper rescued the Apostle. The building is of stone with an arched upper story, through the openings of which the sky appears. Behind a grating, similar to that of the “Deliverance” in the Chamber of Heliodorus, Paul is visible, with his hands joined in prayer. To the right, the open country; at the corner of the foreground, two men surprised to feel the ground

in the paper. But, on the whole, the cartoon is better preserved than some of the others.

Some drawings exist which appear to be connected with the cartoon. Ex gr.:

Florence. Uffizi. No. 540. Study, in red chalk, of St. Paul, the two bearded men to the left, two of the standing listeners, and Dionysius the Areopagite. This is a bold sketchy work, that looks like a first impression due to Raphael's hand. St. Paul is draped but beardless, and looking down. It is, however, feebler than Raphael's work, and may have been one of Penni's first thoughts executed at Raphael's bidding. There is also some Florentine character in the lines, which might point to Perino del Vaga.

Louvre. Not now exhibited. But No. 575 of the catalogue of 1845. Pen drawing, washed with

bistre and heightened with white. 0·25 h. by 0·32. This is a copy from the cartoon.

Chatsworth. Black chalk head in reverse of the foreground standing listener, in a white mantle looking up to St. Paul. Pinholed for transfer. Apparently a study by Penni.

Chatsworth. Black chalk head, like that of the seated listener to the right of and nearest St. Paul. A study of a hand pointing—not used for the cartoon. By the same hand as the foregoing, and, like it, pinholed for use. But this head may also have been intended for the “Transfiguration.”

Weimar. In the Collection of the Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar, is a black chalk drawing of the head and bust of the figure of Damaris. Very much worn and restored, so much so that it is difficult to hold an opinion as to its genuineness.

quaking under their feet, beneath them an allegorical *Terræ Motus*, or vision of a giant raising the crust of the earth, out of which he seems suddenly to rise, forming a cavern supported by his head and arms. The foremost of the two men is lifted by the motion and tosses his hands wildly into the air, whilst terror is depicted in his downcast face. Behind him the other looks down, yet mechanically raises his shield to parry an imaginary blow. The action of the first guard is a variety of that in the man who stoops to gaze at the features of the dying Ananias, in Raphael's cartoon. But the chief interest of the composition centres in the figure of the "Earthquake," a brawny being bent to exert all his strength, and straining every muscle of his breast, shoulders, and face to heave the load above him.\* This type of preternatural force is not without reminiscences of Michaelangelo, yet it seems more directly derived than any other from the antique. It recalls in a striking manner the Sisyphus staggering under the rock, which Bartoli engraved from an original in the Barberini collection, or the Prometheus which the same artist copied from a bas-relief in one of the palaces of Rome. But it also

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\* "St. Paul in Prison." Tapestry. Vatican. Injured and frayed.  $3\frac{1}{2}$  ft. in width.

A sketch for the *Terræ Motus* is described by Passavant as having been in Sir Joshua Reynolds' and the W. Roscoe Collection. Pen drawing, washed with bistre, 8 in. h. by  $8\frac{1}{2}$ . (Pass. Raph. ii. 204.)

If the cartoon had been preserved we might perhaps discern in it the handiwork of Giulio Romano, whose designs of giants, worked by Rinaldo and Fermo of Caravaggio in the Chamber of the Giants at Mantua, are much in the character of the figure of the "Earthquake."

reminds us very forcibly of a figure of "Heaven" in Marcantonio's "Judgment of Paris," where Jove is supported on the clouds by a bearded giant holding a mantle with both hands in a curve above his head. The constant recurrence of these forms in Raphaelesque designs is a natural consequence of the master's studies, after his appointment to the superintendence of the building of St. Peter's. It reveals the period when Marcantonio engraved his plate and tells of Raphael's acquaintance with the Medicean antiques which Leo X. so carefully treasured in his private palace.

Though Raphael's studies for the "Judgment of Paris" have not been preserved, they were undoubtedly the groundwork of Marcantonio's labours. The scene in which the goddesses meet is a grove guarded by nymphs and recumbent river gods. Paris, with the crook of a shepherd and a dog at his feet, delivers the apple to Venus, Juno threatens him with her finger, Minerva turns from him with disdain, and Mercury departs to spread the wondrous intelligence. But Apollo in the sky has already started the chariot of the sun, preceded by the twins on their steeds, and Jove appears with the goddesses in the clouds supported on the outspread mantle of the bearded giant "Firmament." The sculptor who carved the subject in a classic bas-relief at the Medicean villa which Raphael probably saw, not only represented the "Judgment" and the river gods but Helios and Jupiter on the mantle of the "Firmament." But there were doubtless numerous versions of the same subject extant in Raphael's time. One of them was recently

exhumed, when the statue of Augustus, now at the Vatican, was found in 1863 in the villa of the Empress Livia on the Flaminian way. On the Cæsar's breastplate are chased the Helios, the Firmament and the recumbent river-god. The deep impress left on Raphael by antique forms of this kind remains indelibly stamped on the cartoons, the plate of Marcantonio and the mosaics of the Chigi Chapel in Santa Maria del Popolo. The river-god in the print recalls the Heliodorus, Ananias, and studies for the arras of the second series, as much as it does the wounded captain in Lionardo's "Battle of Anghiari."

It is not known whether the cartoons were despatched singly or together to Brussels. But the rapidity with which they were woven makes it probable that each of them was sent to the Netherlands after it was completed. The fable which assigns the superintendence of the tapestries at Arras to Bernard Van Orley was long accepted as historical, though based exclusively on the worthless evidence of De Piles.\* They were woven by Pieter van Aelst of Brussels for 1000 ducats apiece, and De Grassis vouched for the price when he described the sensation caused by their first display at the Sixtine on the 26th of December, 1519.† The

\* De Piles, *Abrégé de la Vie des Peintres*.

† The price of the cartoons is given in the *Diary of Marcantonio, Michiel*, tom. ix. p. 405, of *Memorie dell' I. R. Instituto, Veneto*, 1860, ap. Müntz, *Raphael*, p. 479. But it seems doubtful still whether Michiel did not confound the

price of the cartoons with that of each single tapestry. Passavant, quoting from a MS. at the Vatican, of the diary of P. de Grassis which is not now accessible in the original, gives the price at "duorum millium ducatorum." But there are other versions of the MS., ex. gr. that in the Casanatense

numerous copies woven from the cartoons, of which several collections are still in existence, testify to the universal admiration which they created.\*

Library at Rome, which give the price as follows :

1519. In die Sancti Stephani (Dec. 26), fuit missa Papalis solita, presente Papa cum Cardinalibus triginta. Eam Missam cantavit Cardinalis de Valle, licet non satis bene. Hodie Papa jussit appendi suos pannos de Russia, novos, pulcherrimos et preciosos de quibus tota cappella stupefacta est in aspectu illorum, qui, ut fuit universale judicium, sunt res, quibus non est aliquid in orbe nunc pulchrius, et unumquodque pretium (petium) est valoris ducatorum millium auri in auro."

Passavant, writing as we saw : "Valoris *duorum* millium ducatorum" (Raph. ii. p. 190), thus doubles the price given in the Casanatense MS.

The following interesting quotation from Cicogna shows that only seven of the Tapestries were exhibited in 1519 :

Diarii di Marcantonio Michiel (Codice da me, C. A. Cicogna) :

"Adi 27 Decembre, 1519. Roma. Queste feste di Natale il Papa messe fuori in capella 7 pezzi di razzo† perche l'ottavo non era fornito, fatti in ponente, che furono giudicati la più bella cosa che sia stata fatta in eo genere a

nostri giorni, benche fussino celebri li razzi di Papa Giulio dell anticamera, li razzi del Marchese di Mantova del disegno del Mantegna, et li razzi di Alfonso overo Federico re di Napoli."

The name of Pieter van Aelst, and the weaving of the tapestries at Brussels, is proved by a record in Müntz's *Raphael* (u. s., p. 481), discovered by Cavalier Bertolotti in the archives of Rome.

\* The earliest copies of the tapestries are a series of nine, once belonging to Henry VIII. of England, in the Museum of Berlin. The missing number is the "Captivity of Paul." All of them are 4 metres 30 in height. In width the "Miraculous Draught" is 4·80 m.; the "Conversion of Paul," 5·78; the "Stoning of Stephen," 4·95; the "Christ's Charge to Peter," 6·16; "Peter at the Beautiful Gate," 5·78; the "Death of Ananias," 6·35; "Elymas," 6·47; "Paul at Lystra," 6·25; and "Paul at Athens," 4·97. The borders in this series are garlands of leaves. This series was sold, after the execution of Charles I., to the Spanish Ambassador, Don Alonzo de Cardenas, for the Duke of Alva, in the palace of whose family, at Madrid, they remained till 1823, when they were bought by Mr. Tupper, a British Consul, who sold them, 1844, to the King of Prussia.

A second series, at Dresden

† Cicogna, annot. in Morelli, with MS. annot. by Brandolesi, &c. MS. in the Marciana at Venice.

Raphael's cartoons are the mature fruit of the studies of a lifetime. They mark the close of a brilliant period of Italian art, which opened with Giotto and includes Masaccio, Ghirlandaio and Lionardo. Unlike the ceiling of the Sistine, which is an incomparable result of Michaelangelo's individual striving, it distinguishes Raphael from his rival by showing that originality could be attained by a judicious study of extant masterpieces, controlled by repeated appeals to nature. Each picture in the series displays the highest possible skill in composition. Where action is required, it forms a material element in the arrangement; where it is not required, its place is taken by variety of expression or contrasts of movement and position. No general or inviolable rule is applied without exception. The subject dictates the form best suited for its display; and the narrative is never obscured, however complex the motive idea of the picture may

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comprises six tapestries, with larger borders than those at Berlin, and all 5·10 m. high, the missing numbers being the "Conversion of Paul," "Stoning of Stephen," and the "Ananias." There are no gold threads in this series. They belonged to the heirlooms of Cardinal Furstenberg (+ 1704), who bought them in England, and they came, for 30,000 thalers, in 1723, into the hands of the King of Saxony, August I.

Another series, like that of Berlin, but woven at the Gobelins, under Louis XIV., is at the Garde

meuble in Paris, and was exhibited in 1883. Another, at Vienna, was probably executed under the superintendence of Giulio Romano at Mantua. It was carried away from Mantua by the Austrian Government. A series of five, including the "Miraculous Draught," "Christ's Charge to Peter," the "Beautiful Gate," the "Sacrifice at Lystra," and "St. Paul at Athens," is now at Loretto—a roughly woven set, once belonging to Cardinal Sforza Pallavicini. Other sets, in Spain and elsewhere. See Pass. ii. 214.

be. Attitude and gesture, always elevated and pure in accent, yet full of modulations, constantly remain within the limits of the reality. The type, the strain, or the turn of expression may differ, but the design invariably comes out without a blemish. With an intense concentration of life and dramatic force, every sentiment, every passion is manifested; and this applies with equal felicity, and regardless of beauty or ugliness, to childhood, manhood or age. It was a condition precedent that Raphael should have studied nature in its best models and the antique in its most ideal shape, and assimilated all the materials which that study afforded before he poured forth the treasures which he had laid up. That his pictures sometimes recalled the classic Greek and Roman, Masaccio, Filippino, Lionardo and even Michaelangelo was the necessary consequence of his method. But these reminiscences never clouded work individual in stamp and Raphaelic in impress. It is in the cartoons and in these only that Raphael created a type of the divinity of Christ, which gives him a place in the annals of art on a level with Da Vinci. For whilst Da Vinci produced the Saviour in the highest form of serenity as the God-man who knew that he was betrayed and about to suffer, Raphael gave shape to a form of equal grandeur and majesty in the Saviour of the "Resurrection." The shapes of the apostles were wrought with a power and clothed in a halo of dignity and sanctity never before attained and only surpassed by that of Christ himself. Descending from these, perhaps, too lofty contemplations to the

commoner elements of Raphael's art, we acknowledge equally his great skill in bringing freshly before us a world then sixteen centuries old, a result which was compassed not only by a finished definition and rendering of nude in every detail of contour or play of muscles and articulations, but by a thorough mastery of the models of antiquity. With this, the most delicate and exquisite sense of chords of colour and balanced light and shade were combined; and the harmony of a style complete in all its parts established. What Raphael had to contend with, besides the ordinary difficulties of composition, was the necessity under which he lay of testing his lines to see how they might appear when reversed in the tapestries. He was not content to trust to the mere reflexion of the mirror, but often, perhaps always, drew or caused his disciples to draw, the converse of his picture. No one who looks at the tapestries without having seen the cartoons would think that they had not originally been composed as they are woven. With all these fetters about him, with the knowledge that arras would not give back his pigments with the brightness of painting, that the outlines would lose their flow and the forms be subjected to shrinking, he went on and conquered, adhering faithfully and, with slight exception, rigidly to the text of Scripture.



## CHAPTER VI.

State of the basilica of St. Peter in 1516.—Want of money and materials for building it.—Raphael made inspector of ruins and classic treasure-trove.—Influence which this appointment gave him.—Bembo and others become his friends.—Giuliano de' Medici sits to Raphael.—His portrait and its replicas, all most likely from an original, assignable to Giulio Romano, at Alnwick.—Baldassare Castiglione and his position under Leo X.—Pleasure trip in which he, Bembo, Navagero, and Beazzano join.—His portrait at the Louvre.—Relations of Raphael with Bibiena.—Raphael paints his likeness, now in the Pitti, which is not that of the Cardinal catalogued with his name in the Madrid Museum.—Portraits of Navagero and Beazzano.—Frescos of Bibiena's bath-room at the Vatican.—Copies of them from the Palatine villa at Rome now in St. Petersburg.—Mosaics of the Chigi chapel.—Lorenzetto the sculptor and Raphael.—The Jonah of the Chigi chapel.—Was Raphael a sculptor?—Statue of the dead child on a dolphin.—Wax bust of a girl at Lille.—Political events.—Peace of Bologna.—Raphael, Michaelangelo and Da Vinci at Florence and Bologna.—Raphael and Francia.—Raphael's letter to Francia, probably written in 1516.—Raphael Riario, and B. Turini.—Relations with Da Vinci.—Francesco Maria of Urbino ousted by Lorenzo de' Medici.—His Duchess sells her plate designed on the models of Raphael.—Raphael's correspondence respecting a picture for Isabella d'Este.—Sketches for protonotary Battiferri.—Fresco of an elephant.—The nuns of Monteluce.—Gregorio Cortese of Modena's unsuccessful application for a picture.—Negotiations with Ferrara for a "Triumph of Bacchus."—Coronation of Charlemagne and oath of Leo in the Camera dell' Incendio.—The influence of Lionardo finally supersedes that of Michaelangelo.—Madonna di San Sisto.—Was it the Cardinal of San Sisto who ordered it?—His portrait.—The St. Cecilia and Cardinal Pucci.—Fornarina.—The Vision of Ezechiel.—The Spasimo di Sicilia.

RAPHAEL'S fame as an architect is obscured by his renown as a painter. His genius was acknowledged in the cartoons and frescos of the Vatican, but feebly

asserted in the building of St. Peter's. The labour which he gave to the first was much more fruitful of results than that which he spent on the second. The slow progress which he made in rearing the basilica may be judged from a background in the fresco of the "Coronation of Charlemagne," where the square of the dome is depicted, with the high altar protected from the weather by hangings and a papal throne screened with arras from the wind. The temporary character of the arrangement is shown by the draped hoarding round the space in which Leo X. receives the homage of Francis I.

It is clear that two most important things had been lacking at St. Peter's—money and materials. To remedy these defects Leo caused Bembo to draft a brief which authorized Raphael to inspect and purchase all the marbles of old buildings and ruins above and below the ground within a radius of ten miles from the city.\* The advantages which this brief secured were very great. They gave Raphael facilities to study classic examples. They made an examination of ancient remains comparatively easy ; and those who might be privileged to accompany him would naturally possess an "Open Sesame" which no other authority could supply. Bembo cleverly embraced the opportunity to share the benefits so temptingly placed within his reach. He joined the master in his rounds of inspection, one meeting led to another, Raphael visited Bembo at his lodgings, Bembo and his friends

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\* Brief of August 27, 1515, in Bembo Opere, *u. s.*

met in the painter's rooms, and the circle of patrons and clients was ingeniously enlarged.\*

No wonder that these meetings should lead to increased artistic production, and that courtiers should eagerly ask for portraits. Raphael's connection with Inghirami had been commemorated by a picture. Bibiena and Giulio de' Medici were immortalized in the fresco of the "Battle of Ostia." Another series of masterpieces was executed about the period of the cartoons, and Raphael counted amongst his sitters, Giuliano de' Medici, Castiglione, Bibiena, Tebaldeo, Navagero and Beazzano, men of note as statesmen, diplomatists and poets.

Giuliano de' Medici was the highest personage in the Papal State for whom Raphael could paint a likeness. All the arts of Leo X. had been exerted to raise this prince to a station worthy of his birth and pretensions. He was Duke of Nemours in the peerage of France; the Pope had given him a principality, Louis XII. a wife of royal lineage. The marriage took place early in February 1515, and Giuliano returned to Rome to form a court over which his wife presided.

Within less than five months after these events occurred, the French Duke was commanding the Papal forces against France. Illness alone prevented him from leading the troops in person, and a fatal decline soon deprived him of his life. But before leaving Rome Giuliano had apparently had the wish to leave

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\* See illustrations of this—*postea*.

a portrait behind him which should adorn his wife's drawing-room. Raphael, as the Duke's "familiar" was selected to paint it,\* and we trace to this time an original which has perhaps not come down to us, but of which numerous repetitions have been carefully preserved.

In the days of Vasari, Raphael's portrait of Giuliano was hanging in the palace of Ottaviano de' Medici at Florence. The fate of that picture is unknown, but discovery was recently made of a canvas for which a claim of genuineness has been distinctly put forward; and we look with interest at the effigy of a nobleman whose features were limned by a great painter.

Giuliano's repute is good amongst the princes of the Medicean house. He is said to have been weak. But he had a quality which other members of his family wanted. He was grateful to those who had favoured him in adversity. His features, handed down to us in several examples, are of the genuine Medicean type, including a long hooked nose, almond-shaped eyes, and a beard and moustache kept short to suit a small chin and upper lip. Great breadth and flatness mark the plane of the cheeks, which, in every extant specimen, are seen at three-quarters to the left, with an oval black eye-ball looking to the right. According to the fashion of the period, a coif of golden net drawn obliquely over the head to the level of the left ear, and a wide toque set aslant over the right ear, leave the whole of the forehead bare. A ticket of

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\* See *antea*.

lozenge-shape and three gold buckles are affixed to the toque. The low dress displays a long neck fringed with the border of a white shirt covered by a red vest all but hidden by a black doublet over which a fawn-coloured watered silk pelisse is thrown adorned with a collar and facings of brown fur. A black patch conceals the fore-finger of the left hand which lies on a table partly hidden by the right holding a letter. Some of the replicas have a plain background, others have not. In one of the latter, lately the property of a Russian princess, a green hanging half conceals an opening through which the sky appears cut out by the broken outline of the castle of Sant' Angelo, to which the secret approach is shown by a covered way.\*

It is still a question whether this or the replica at

\* *Giuliano de' Medici*. Collection of the late Grand Duchess Marie of Russia, at Quarto near Florence. The picture, purchased on Dec. 21, 1866, from Signor Brini at Florence, is possibly that which was sold out of the Capponi Palace at Florence in the present century (*Pass.* ii. p. 146), though Signor Brini declared that he had bought it in the house of the Baldovinetti. Canvas, stretched on panel. Life-size. For further details of the purchase and restoration of this interesting piece, we must consult the valuable commentary of an acute connoisseur, Baron Liphart, in "Notice historique sur un tableau de Raphael," 8vo, Paris, 1867, p. 16.

Uffizi. No. 193. Life-size,

on wood. Assigned to Vasari in the Florentine inventory of 1635. This portrait of Giuliano de' Medici is similar to the foregoing, except that the background is plain green. It is now attributed to Alessandro Allori, but is a clever imitation of Raphael.

Turin Museum. No. 171 B. This also is a portrait of Giuliano de' Medici, on canvas, 0.72 h. by 0.59, described as unknown, and catalogued as a work of Giorgione (!). It originally belonged to the Marquis Barollo's Collection at Turin. The hands in this example are not in the same position as in the two previous ones. The execution is poor, but the painting is apparently Florentine, and of the 16th century.

the Uffizi is the portrait which Vasari described. The latter is admittedly a copy. The former, after a short and perhaps not quite satisfactory examination, left the impression that it was a conscientious piece of painting and a careful reproduction of Raphael's original, rather than the original itself, an impression which may perhaps be due to age, over-cleaning and restoring.

A prince of Giuliano's position is perhaps less favourably situated than any other for giving sittings to an artist. His time is measured by minutes. Masters of Raphael's repute might think that the chance of realizing a good likeness would be quite as good if a journeyman were sent to take the face from which the portrait would afterwards be composed. The head of Giuliano de' Medici washed in fresco on a tile in the Alnwick collection may lead to the belief that the Duke of Nemours gave a few minutes of his time to Giulio Romano, and that the portraits afterwards executed in Raphael's rooms were partly derived from that rapid first sketch.\*

When Raphael could talk to his model whilst working at his easel, the result was always very different from

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\* Alnwick. From the Camuccini Collection at Rome. Bust on dark green ground, injured by stains and retouching, but similar in every point, so far as it goes, to the Quarto example. Catalogued very properly under the name of Giulio Romano.

A variety of the foregoing is exhibited amongst the portraits in

the passage between the Pitti and Uffizi Galleries at Florence. It represents Giuliano with the baton of command in his right hand, and his left on the hilt of his sword. The background is a green hanging. Panel—a Florentine picture of the period subsequent to Bronzino, without much value in respect of art.

that produced by a school-piece, and a capital instance of this is the "Baldassare Castiglione" of the Louvre.

During the whole period which elapsed between the coronation of Leo X. and the deprivation of Francesco Maria I., that nobleman was the accredited envoy of Urbino at the Vatican. Though skilled as a diplomatist, he was no match for the Pope, whose duplicity he was unable to fathom. He might have foreseen the fate of his master, after his supersession by Giuliano; yet, when Giuliano died, he still affected to believe that his residence at Rome was secure. But the time came when Leo threw off the mask which he no longer had any reason to wear, and Francesco Maria lost the services of a zealous agent, and Raphael the support of a useful friend. The letters of Bembo to Bibiena contain frequent allusions to Castiglione, and curiously enough they are all in conjunction with Raphael's name. "To morrow," says Bembo, writing on the 13th April, 1516, to Bibiena at Fiesole, "Navagero, Beazzano, and I intend to revisit Tivoli with Baldassare Castiglione and Raphael. My last visit was made to this place twenty-seven years ago. We shall see the old and the new and everything that is beautiful in the place. I shall go to please Messer Andrea (Navagero), who leaves Rome for Venice after the next day of Pasquin." \* On the 19th of the same month, a second

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\* The day of Pasquin was the festival of St. Mark, April 25th. On that day the poets of Rome posted their satires on the torso of

the statue of Pasquin. Passavant seems to think that "il dì di Pasquino," in Bembo's letter, means Easter, but Easter is Pasqua—not

letter despatched by Bembo to Bibiena at Rubera, says: "Raphael who begs to be respectfully remembered, has portrayed our Tebaldeo so naturally, that he is nowhere so like himself as in this picture. For my part I have never seen such a perfect resemblance. You may readily conceive what Messer Antonio (Tebaldeo) thinks and says of it, and he is quite right. The portraits of Baldassare Castiglione and our late Duke, to whom God grant eternal happiness, are mere apprentice work so far as likeness goes when compared with that of Tebaldeo. I envy him greatly, and am thinking of having myself painted some day.\* I had written thus far when in comes Raphael, guessing, one should almost think, that I was writing about him. He begs me to ask you to send him the rest of the subjects which are to be painted in your bath-room, that is, the written descriptions of them, because those you have already sent will be finished this week—and *per Dio*, it is not a joke; here comes Baldassare too, who bids me say that he is determined to stay the whole summer at Rome, in order not to spoil the good position which he has here; and particularly because Messer Antonio wishes it." †

The portrait of Tebaldeo, which no one but

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Pasquino. (See Passavant's *Raphael*, ii. 239.)

\* We thought at one time that the Duke here alluded to was Guidubaldo of Urbino. But Baron C. E. de Liphart justly observes,

in the *Notice Historique* (*u. s.*), that Giuliano de' Medici must be the Duke to whom Bembo refers.

† Bembo, *Opere*, *u. s.*; V. 43, and 48-49.



Bembo is known to have seen, must have been a masterpiece to rival that of Castiglione, which is one of the finest productions of its kind, except the "Leo" at the Pitti.\* Raphael has represented Castiglione to the waist. His face is slightly turned to the left, his eyes looking out of the picture with a brightness enlivened by sunbeams playing about the orbits. This brightness, in features more massive than finely moulded, gives life to broad cheeks, a spacious forehead, and regular curves of brow; the nose is well formed, and the lips purely cut, and a gracefully trimmed beard encases the jaw and chin with a sweep as grand as that of the large black hat which surrounds the head. A white ruffled shirt, a grey pelisse with a high black collar and close black sleeves, deck every part except the hands, which are clasped together on some unseen support. No assistant's hand ever touched this beautiful picture, which is a melody in silvery tones, with flesh pigments half wheaten, half opal, in keeping with the greys and

\* The only reference to a portrait of Tebaldeo in Vasari, is a statement of his presence in the fresco of "Parnassus." He was introduced into that picture because he was a poet and *improvisatore*, though originally a surgeon. He died—a pauper—at Rome in 1537. According to an opinion held by some critics, his portrait is that assigned to Raphael in the Scarpa Collection at La Motta in Friuli. But there is sufficient evidence to show that, whoever the person repre-

sented in that picture may be, the painting is by a Venetian, probably Sebastian del Piombo, and not by Raphael. (See Vasari, viii. p. 18.)

Another portrait, called Tebaldeo, and ascribed to Raphael, is No. 18 in the Gallery at Naples, a likeness of a man in a cap with a short beard, in a black doublet with puff sleeves. The style and dress are of a period much later than the age of Raphael. The painter may be Francesco de' Salviati.

blacks of the dress and the lighter greys of the plain background. The portrait was the pride of its owner after his retirement to Mantua, equally the pride of Raphael's friends who often quoted the verses placed in his wife's mouth by Castiglione, describing it as the joy of her life, gladdening her with its smile, and causing her child to whisper the name of its father.\*

Bibiena's friendship for Raphael was only equalled by his admiration of Raphael's skill as an artist. Their acquaintance probably began at Urbino, during the exile of Giuliano and Giovanni de' Medici. But it remained superficial till they met at Rome, and Bibiena offered to give Raphael his niece in marriage. There was nothing strange in those days in the elevation to the purple of a man whose claims to distinction were apparently based on the composition of an indecent and farcical comedy. But Bibiena was more than a writer of farces. He was clever as the

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\* *Baldassare Castiglione*. Louvre. No. 371. Wood, transferred to canvas. 0·22 h. by 0·67. Supposed by Lepicié to have belonged to Charles I., of which there is no proof. It was for some time, in the 17th century, in the Collection of a Dutchman named Van Usse-  
len; was copied by Rubens (Sainsbury Papers relating to Rubens, 8vo, London, 1859, p. 238) probably when in the Lopez Collection at Madrid, Lopez having bought the picture in 1639 at the Usse-  
len sale in Amsterdam (Sand-  
rart, Academia). It had been pre-

viously copied by Rembrandt in a bistre water-colour, now at the Albertina. Cardinal Mazarin bought it after the confiscation of Lopez's property, and his heir parted with it to Louis XIV. It is fairly preserved, but perhaps more grey than it was once, owing to the removal of the glazings.

Castiglione's elegy on the picture was quoted as early as 1557 by Dolce, in his *Dialogo della Pittura*. It was first published in the works of Fulvio Morata (Ven. 1534, in Pass. ii. 154) under the title of Balth. Castiglione Elegia.

director of the Pope's pleasures, and equally clever as the promoter of Leo's political measures. An anecdote in the Cortigiano represents him as a critic of the vices of his colleagues. Two cardinals accused Raphael of painting St. Peter and St. Paul with red cheeks. Raphael retorted by saying that he had done so intentionally, being convinced that they blushed whilst in Heaven, to see the Church governed by such men.\* The comical feature in this improbable story is that Castiglione attributed it to Bibiena, and thus aimed at the cardinal himself who promoted the ruin of the Roveres. It seemed as natural that Raphael should be told to paint the cardinal's portrait as that he should be asked to adorn Bibiena's bath-room. Bibiena certainly sat for his likeness. But the picture which is now at the Pitti deserves more severe strictures even than those applied by Bembo to the portrait of Giuliano de' Medici. Bibiena is represented in a chair, wearing a surplice and barret, and a watered cape of *pavonnazzo* or purple silk. His head is seen at three-quarters to the left. But the open eyes under broad upper lids look searchingly to the right. The nose is long and tending to aquiline, yet fleshy where it overhangs a large mouth capable of voluble speech and mobility. The seat of power in the face is the wide forehead free from hair. The grey-blue eyes are clear and open, yet still suggestive of cunning, and the jaws and chin are long and full. The left hand on the arm of a chair, the right holding

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\* Cortigiano, 4to, London, 1727, ii. p. 213.

a letter, are as poorly drawn and painted as the muslin of the surplice sleeves or the silk of the cape. The head alone seems worthy of Raphael. The rest, from the neck downwards, was completed by subordinates, whose poor work is now finally spoiled by patching and retouching. The face, it is clear, was taken from nature, and reversed for the fresco of the battle of Ostia. It differs in many respects from a portrait said to represent Bibiena at Madrid, which is in Raphael's latest style, and appears in Passavant's pages as "the original from which the copy at the Pitti was taken."\*

Very few days after the date of the last letter addressed by Bembo to Bibiena, Navagero left Rome

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\* Portrait of Cardinal Bibiena. Pitti. No. 158. Canvas. 0.86<sup>5</sup> h. by 0.65<sup>5</sup>. In the *Ragionamenti*, reprinted in vol. viii. of the Sansoni ed. of the *Lives*, we find Vasari's description of his portrait of Bibiena in the frescos of the Palazzo Vecchio at Florence, and he says that the portrait is fairly like, because it is taken from one which Raphael painted after the cardinal's appointment at Rome. "It is now," he adds, "in the house of the Dovizi in Bibiena, and I had it here (in Florence) for several months to copy." Passavant, commenting on this passage, says, "It tells us that there were two portraits exactly similar, one of which was painted by Raphael in oil, and these are, first, the original in the Museum of Madrid, and the copy at the

Pitti, in which Raphael had no part." (Raphael, ii. 147-8.) The first statement is unfounded. The Pitti portrait is not a copy of that in Madrid, which we shall see represents a different person. But it must be conceded that there is no proof that the Pitti portrait is identical with that which Vasari copied. The state of the Florentine canvas is not good. A piece was added to the bottom of it, in which the fingers of the left hand were repainted. The left hand and arm, and the white sleeve on the right arm, are both injured by retouching. A large patch appears in the cape, and the green background is done afresh with opaque pigments. Slight retouching may also be traced in the neck, where a round hole has been patched over.

for Venice, having postponed his departure till after the festival of St. Mark, when it was the custom of the Roman wits to pin satires on the statue of Pasquin.\*

Before he left, Raphael painted Navagero's portrait with that of Beazzano, on a single panel, which Bembo preserved for many years before parting with it to the repeated importunities of his friend.† Here, too, we deplore the loss of a masterpiece, of which none but copies have been preserved.‡

\* The festival of St. Mark (April 25) was that on which the satires were published—"il dì di Pasquino." See Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom*, u. s. viii. 329.

† Anonimo, ed. Morelli, p. 18 and notes.

‡ *Navagero and Beazzano*. Rome. Palazzo Doria. Navagero to the left, Beazzano to the right. Both are seen to the elbows. The first, in a black toque and coif, bearded, with short chestnut hair, and dressed in black silk. The second, in a soft felt cap, beardless, his face and neck visible between masses of long chestnut hair. The pleats of a shirt are visible above the breast of a black doublet—part of the left hand seen. Both figures are relieved on a plain green background. They are characteristic likenesses, and possibly copies from Raphael's lost original, being feebler than Raphael would have painted them, and on canvas. Much of the original brightness of the painting is lost under restoring, to which the raw hardness

and ruddiness of the flesh surfaces may be attributed. But nothing shows any approach to the style of the "Castiglione" of the Louvre. Nor is the thick substance of the pigments, the dark shading, or marked outline indicative of Raphael, though it might plead for the name of Polidoro.

A black chalk cartoon of a head, not unlike Beazzano, at three-quarters to the right, is ascribed to Raphael in the Collection of the Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth. But it is by Francia Bigio.

The portraits must have been popular. Copies of them, now cut in two, and patched, but inferior to the Doria example, are No. 372 (canvas, 0·68 h. by 0·57), Navagero, and No. 373 (canvas, 0·79 h. by 0·60), Beazzano, in the Madrid Museum. They were in the Alcazar as far back as 1637 (Madrado's *Madrid Catal.* p. 675).

A variety, in possession of Monsignor Badia at Rome, represents Navagero with his left hand on a book, to which Beazzano is pointing. A poor piece of painting on

With these illustrations of the circle of friends which surrounded Bembo and Bibiena, Raphael might be considered to have exhausted the trained power of which he possessed so large a store. Yet it was not so. We saw in Bembo's letters that he was asking for subjects for the cardinal's bath-room. We find that this bath-room, which formed part of a suite at the Vatican, was decorated with wall paintings in the style of the Romans of the age of the Antonines. Looking round the churches of Rome, we discover that about the same period Raphael completed designs which Venetian mosaists set in colours in the chapel of Agostino Chigi, at Santa Maria del Popolo. The subjects in both cases were similar; both were derived from the antique. But it was for the cardinal that Raphael revived the pure Italo-Greek style, for Chigi that he combined classic and religious forms in a shape never before attempted.

The decorations of Bibiena's bath-room would seem to show that Venus and Cupid were divinities to which the cardinal's taste exclusively inclined. It might be questionable whether such a taste could properly be cultivated in the very heart of the Pope's palace, yet centuries elapsed before churchmen concluded that it would be scandalous to tolerate pagan images near the papal apartments. It is not more than fifty years since the bath-room was first wainscoted, and an altar was substituted for the

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canvas, at the bottom of which	CHRISTI MDVII PONTIFICAT. SVI
we read: LEO PONT. MAX. ANNO	ANNO IIII.

basin in which the cardinal bathed. We are still asked to believe that behind these wainscots the frescos lie which Raphael, or disciples working from his instructions, designed.\* Happily, the outlines of Santi Bartoli were made before the frescos were lost to view, and with these and other materials we can reconstruct what Raphael's genius invented. Round the niche in which the bath was placed, river-gods revealed the secret of the place. In rectangular framings at each side, Venus and Cupid were represented riding on dolphins, and Venus was seen wounded by Cupid's dart. Below these, Cupid was depicted driving teams of dolphins and swans. The surrounding walls comprised Venus Anadyomene, Venus tying her sandal, Jupiter and Antiope, Venus and Adonis, and the fight of Pan and Amor. Beneath these were varieties of the divinity of

\* The bath room was seen by Passavant in 1835, since which time it has been turned into a chapel by one of the Cammuccini. It is situated on the highest floor of the Vatican, above the library, and forms part of a suite near the upper story of the Loggia, now inhabited by Monsignor Cretoni, substitute of the Cardinal Secretary of State. The entrance to the suite is from the Loggia. A door, in the side parallel to the Loggia, is faced by a window, looking out on an inner court. To the left as you enter is the wall with the niche in which the altar now stands. The wainscot-

ing extends even to the ceiling, of which a stuccoed part is still visible. Passavant, who was the last to see the frescos, describes them in much detail. The largest were but 2 ft. h. by 15 in. One of them, representing Venus tying her sandal, was then no longer in existence. A similar accident happened to one of the figures of Amor. The ceiling was all but obliterated, and the only composition remaining there was the much injured one of Vulcan and Pallas, which might be guessed by Bartoli's print to be by one of Raphael's least competent scholars.

Cupid—Loves driven in chariots, shells, or tubs, by butterflies, turtles, serpents, and snails.

Persons curious of seeing these subjects in a larger mould than that of Raphael's frescos may derive some satisfaction from the copies of the Palatine Villa at Rome which are now at St. Petersburg.\* Bibiena's directions to Raphael were not to adapt but to revive the models of antique decoration which might be found in the ruins of the city. The success of his experiment is due quite as much to the cleverness with which Raphael applied the principles embodied in the composition of bas-reliefs or gems as to the picturesque form in which those principles were applied. There is no reason to believe that he gave a single stroke of the brush to any of the frescos on the walls, no sign in any of the studies for single

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\* *Frescos of the Palatine Villa at Rome.* Hermitage, at St. Petersburg. No. 47, "Venus and Cupid on Sea - Monsters;" No. 48, "Venus and Adonis;" No. 49, "Venus Tying her Sandal;" No. 50, "Venus Showing the Wound to Cupid;" No. 51, "Jupiter and Antiope;" No. 52, "Landscape;" No. 53, "Cupid Shooting an Arrow;" No. 54, "Nymphs Surprised by Fauns." The first five of the series are copies from Raphael's frescos in the bath-room of Cardinal Bibiena. They vary in size from 2'78 m. h. by 1'42 to 2'64 by 1'42. Until 1856 they were in the Palatine Villa, built, it is said, by the Mattei Dukes of Giove in the 15th

century, according to Gaetano Moroni, on the plans of Raffaello del Colle (?). The frescos were sawn from the wall by the Marquis Campana and Monsignor Fioramonti. They had been restored in 1824 by P. Cammuccini. The state in which they now appear is such, that it would be presuming to say more than that they look like the work of disciples of Raphael. But who those disciples were it is impossible to say. Under no circumstances, however, can we recognize the hand of Raphael del Colle. See for a cartoon of a head for one of these frescos at Vienna, a note on page 336.



figures which have been preserved that he relieved his disciples from any part of their labour in designing the cartoons. But the sketch drawings were probably his, and most of the compositions are evidence of his skilful reconstruction of the shapes peculiar to the præ-Christian age.

No doubt it will always be possible to discern the hand, and distinguish the spirit, of a modern in imitations of an older time. The air and habits of the century in which we live will always tinge the cleverest reproductions of a by-gone period. But Raphael may claim that, in the frescos of Cardinal Bibiena's bath-room, he did all that was humanly possible to avoid touching any chord that might disturb the harmonies which he borrowed from the Greeks. None but a man of his genius could have revived the images of classic times without mechanically repeating what early artists had left as heir-looms to later generations.

From the designs of engravers who copied the frescos of the bath-room, we learn that Venus Anadyomene was represented standing on the sea, with her face looking down in profile and her back to the spectator, placing her left foot on a shell, her right hand balancing her movement, and her left still playing with locks flowing in the wind.

The distant water fringed with hills was lighted by a sky in which Time appeared with a sickle preparing to mutilate Uranus. Raphael remembered his own sketch of an antique Venus thrown in a few sweeping

lines on the back of a sheet of Madonnas at Florence.\* A breath of modern art animates the moulded forms as they appear in a study at Munich by one of Raphael's disciples.†

Venus and Cupid carried by dolphins seem inspired by the bas-reliefs of San Francesco ad Ripas, in which we already saw the original models for the "Galatea;" but the spirit of Raphael's own age is infused into shapes full of a life and vivacity foreign to the practice of the ancients.

Cupid with his bow and arrow, resting against the lap of Venus, who leans her right arm on his shoulder and shows the wound on her breast, would be classic but for a certain playfulness, which is charming as well as graceful. If the forms in the fresco were expanded to the breadth which we find in a study at Windsor, the painter must have been Giulio Romano.‡

Modern artifice may be detected in the "Venus tying her Sandal."§ A certain want of elevation in

\* Florence. Uffizi. No. 135.

† Munich. Cabinet of Engraving. Venus in red chalk. The drawing seems executed by one of Raphael's pupils. What seems a touch proof of it, lately, and perhaps still, in possession of Mr. Roger Fenton, in London, gives the figure in reverse. It bears Peter Lely's mark.

‡ Cupid and Venus. Windsor Collection. Red chalk drawing. 7½ in. h. by 6¼. Injured by a patch over a horizontal tear that runs through the eyes of Cupid and across the breast of Venus.

A good drawing, in the manner of Giulio Romano, somewhat feeble in the drawing of the legs.

A replica, at the Albertina, which seems a copy of the Windsor drawing, is supposed by Passavant (Raph., ii. p. 230) to be identical with the red chalk registered in the catalogues of Crozat-Walraven, A. Rutgers (1778), and Ploos van Amstel (1800). But this is mere conjecture.

§ It is curious to note Passavant's error in describing this fresco as "Venus drawing a thorn from her foot."

the fresco of Antiope combing her locks at the water's edge, unconscious of the presence of the Satyr-Jupiter, who peers at her from behind a tree. The same observation might apply to the attitude of Venus playing familiarly with Adonis in a grove.\* But such blemishes as these are due in part to an obvious want of delicacy in the translation of Raphael's thoughts by Giulio Romano, whose robust pencil was powerfully assisted by Giovanni da Udine in surface ornament and stucco work.

Before the bath-room was finished, Raphael was consulted on the propriety of decorating it with an antique Venus, of which Bibiena had become the fortunate possessor. Bembo, in a letter to the cardinal, conveyed Raphael's disapproval of the scheme, and then made bold to ask for the Venus as a present.

"Raphael has not seen his way," says Bembo, "to put up the marble Venerina in the new bath-room. Will you kindly give me the statue, for which I have a great fondness? I shall place it in my drawing-room between Jove and Mercury, its father and brother. Should this request seem too bold, Raphael, for whom you have so much friendship, says he will take charge of my excuses for the liberty I take, to

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\* The drawing for this composition, at the Albertina, is by Giulio Romano. Red chalk. 8 in. h. by 6½.

A cartoon of the face and hand of Venus and the hand of Adonis,

in black chalk, on cartridge paper, is also in the Albertina. It is a fragment in Giulio Romano's style, for the frescos of the Villa Palatina—being of life size, viz. : m. 0·382 h. by 0·285.

which he gives me such encouragement that I fancy you will not put him to shame by a refusal." \*

Bibiena was too fond of his statue to part with it. He turned a deaf ear to Bembo's request, and Jupiter and Mercury were deprived of the company of Venus.†

The bath-room of Cardinal Bibiena was evidently known to very few persons beyond the precincts of the Vatican. The pictures which adorned its walls were never seen by Vasari, but it is curious to find that the ceiling of the Chigi Chapel in Santa Maria del Popolo shared the same neglect. There is every reason to think that both decorations were finished at the same time, since one of the mosaics was inscribed with the date of 1516 and the name of the Venetian who transferred Raphael's design to the wall. Circumstances occurred to prevent the opening of the chapel during Agostino Chigi's lifetime, and a series of accidents kept it closed after his death.

Still, Raphael's designs translated into mosaic have not produced the effect of his lines embroidered in arras; and this may be partly explained by the loss of the cartoons upon which the mosaist worked. It is probable, on the other hand, that the comparative obscurity in which the decoration of the Chigi Chapel

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\* Bembo to Bibiena, April 25, 1515, *Opere*, u. s., V. pp. 49, 50.

† See the catalogue of Bembo's antiques at Padua, in which the Jove and Mercury, but not the Vennus, are registered (Anonimo, p. 20). See also Bembo to Camillo

Paleotto, Bibiena's secretary, May 19, 1516, in which Bembo asks whether the cardinal is angry at his presumption in asking for the "Venerina" (Bembo, *Opere*, vii. p. 73).

remained was caused by defects which had not as yet been discovered in other works of the master. In the *Loggia* Raphael combined, as we shall have occasion to observe, the sacred and profane. The balance was nicely held between the two, and it has not been thought that the former was unduly sacrificed.

The cycle of the planets in the Chigi Chapel was conceived in a form which required a combination of pagan and Christian elements. The Eternal, attended by seraphs, issues the fiat by which the stars are set in their orbits. But the words inadequately rendered in the central round of the cupola are expressed in one of the oblongs near it, where an angel, leaning over a starred globe, points to a banderol inscribed with the words: "Fiant luminaria in firmamento coeli." In obedience to this order a seraph in each of the remaining oblongs commands and rules the motion of each planet, and the quaint conceit is realized of angels taking the commands of Heaven to Jupiter and the gods of the heathen Olympus. All this, no doubt, was in unison with the feeling of a time when the sacred college sat beneath the pulpit of the Sixtine Chapel to hear Christian preachers invoke the gods and goddesses of antiquity.\* But artistically the subject was not easy to deal with, and Raphael only solved the difficulty by throwing the Christian element into the background.

"The Eternal," of which there are two splendid designs in Raphael's own hand at Oxford, appears

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\* See De Grassis, *Diarium*, MS. Bib. Paris, u. s. iii. 570.

in the mosaic not so much in the form of Jehovah, as in that of an antique Jove.\* He reminds us of the early times when mosaists cast Christian thoughts in pagan moulds, and gives us an example, all but unique in Raphael's practice, of the violent overhead foreshortening which was familiar to Melozzo, Mantegna, and Correggio. We feel the purer current of Raphael's sentiment when looking at the children supporting the arms and vestments of the Almighty. The figure of the Creator, drawn from a model on one side of the sheet at Oxford, and transfigured into the supernatural on the other, comes out majestically in the mosaic, where the effect of the foreshortening is enhanced by the brightness of the enamels of which the dresses are composed. Two drawings of angels at Oxford and Lille show the interest which the master threw into subjects which he undertook, we should think, mainly to please Agostino Chigi.†

\* Oxford. No. 128. Red chalk. 9 in. h. by 8½. On one side of the sheet the first study from the model, with the head at three-quarters to the left; the right arm raised higher than the left, but both elevated and showing the palms. The frame is clothed in a model's shirt. On the opposite side of the sheet the same figure nearly, but in reverse, as in the mosaic, yet not quite in the position observable in the latter, the left arm being much more elevated than the right, the face and frame more foreshortened. The drapery is finely arranged,

and drawn with few but clever lines. Under the right arm an angel clings to the drapery. Under the left arm another angel supports the limb with his hand. In the mosaic, two angels assist those above described; and three more show their faces or their heads and shoulders above that of the Eternal. The form and the head of the Eternal are brought out in a broad monumental style, which recalls that of Michaelangelo at the Sixtine, and imitates the antique Jupiter.

† *The Planets*. We cannot describe in detail the various move-

Notwithstanding an obvious effort to keep the sculptural element in due subordination, the cupola of the Chigi Chapel produces the impression of a revival of the classic rather than that of a successful display of religious painting. Nor is this impression

ments of the angels resting on the curves in which the signs of the Zodiac are depicted, or the planets within the curves. They may easily be studied in M. Dorigny's copper-plates (1695), or the reversed plates of Hieronymus Boellman.

The cartello on the starred globe, on which the words of the fiat (see text) were inscribed, is now bare; and Passavant assures us (ii. p. 385) that the inscription was removed when Bernini restored the chapel in 1654.

The date of the completion of the mosaics is given in the compartment which contains the planet Venus, where a child, at the side of the goddess, holds a torch with a scroll. On the scroll, which runs like a spiral round the stem of the torch, we read: LV(igi) D(ella) P(ace) V(eneziano) F(ecit) 1516. (See the authorities for this interpretation in Passavant, ii. 384.) The mosaist deserves commendation for preserving so well as he has done the Raphaelic character of the design, and its masses of light and shade in fine gradations. The stones, recently cleaned, are large, and coarsely set, and show the labour of several different hands. But, seen from the floor, the work is most effective. The best part is that of Luigi della

Pace in the "Venus," which is equalled by that of the angel leaning over the starred globe, and the figures of the Eternal and seraphs. None of the stones, except those of the backgrounds and dresses, are enamel. The "Diana," with the crescent on her forehead, is very graceful.

The red chalk drawing of the angel above the "Jupiter" is No. 129, at Oxford,  $7\frac{3}{4}$  in. h. by  $6\frac{1}{4}$ . The figure, reversed in the mosaic, is turned to the left, and seated on the curve, beneath which Jupiter appears with the eagle and thunderbolt. The head, looking down, is seen between the uplifted arms, which point to the Eternal in the centre of the cupola. The wings of this angel, in the mosaic, seem to have been shorn of some of their feathers, either by the mosaist or a restorer.

The last extant drawing by Raphael for the mosaics is that of the angel and Mars. No. 678, at Lille, red chalk, 0.255 h. by 0.240. A fine sketch, in which the forms of the angel are nude. But here the drawing is not in reverse, but similar to the mosaic. His movement is fine as he seizes the hand of Mars, and arrests the action of the sword which the god raises in his right hand.

modified by those parts of the decoration which were dependent on the statuary.

At Chigi's request, and under Raphael's supervision, if not indeed with Raphael's design, Lorenzetto, a sculptor of moderate attainments, produced two figures of Jonas and Elias, which in due time found a place in the chapel.\* But in both these statues, and more particularly in the former, where youth and grace, are combined with a certain Raphaelic elegance, there is more trace of the spirit of the antique than of the hand of Raphael, which Passavant thought he could distinguish in the working of the marble. The statue, before its completion, was reduced in order to form one of the round reliefs in the Loggie of the Vatican, and this alone might give consistency to a belief that the sketch was made by Raphael and used indifferently by the sculptor of the Chigi Chapel and the artists of the Loggie.† But as Lorenzetto was evidently a creature of Raphael, he may have formed the "Jonah" of the Loggie as well as carved the "Jonah" of the chapel. In the latter nothing beyond the grace of the contours would remind us of Raphael except perhaps a certain timidity in the chiselling of the face which might pass as indicating the first attempt of an uninitiated artist to use the chisel. But we have no warrant even for that. The utmost that records tell, is that Raphael once tried

\* Vasari, viii. pp. 46, 47, 54, and 211; x. 126.

† *Loggie. Vatican.* This round is in the pilaster, three windows

off from the exit-door of the Loggie, beneath a second round, representing Leda and the swan.



to wield the tool of the modeller, and precisely at the time at which we have now arrived a friend of Michaelangelo thought it important to warn the great man that Raphael had made a clay model of a child which a sculptor named Pietro of Ancona had almost finished in marble.\* But Raphael was not desirous, it would seem, to contend with Michaelangelo on this ground. There is more reason for thinking that he kept his model of a child, and the marble that was carved from it, than that he disposed of it to any of his numerous patrons. Giulio Romano inherited a marble boy by Raphael which became a coveted object some years later to Baldassare Castiglione.† But there is no certainty either that Giulio sold, or that Castiglione bought the heirloom; and it seems a dangerous experiment to base on such slender foundations as these the theory that Raphael was himself a sculptor, and that he took an active part in cutting the marble of the "Jonah."‡ Still more hazardous, we should think,

\* Lionardo di Compagnano to Michaelangelo, Nov. 16, 1516, in Gotti's *Vita di M. A. Buonarrotti*, ii. p. 59.

† B. Castiglione to M. Andrea Piperario, apostolic "Scriptor" at Rome, Mantua, May 8, 1523, in Bottari, *Lett. u. s.*, V. p. 245.

‡ The Jonah is seated on the monster, with his right foot on its lower jaw. He looks down. With his left hand he holds a cloth which falls behind his shoulder, winds round his right arm, and covers his waist and left thigh. The head is good; the left arm very feebly foreshortened Ra-

phael may have touched the face, which recalls that of the antique Hermes or Antinous. It is more gracefully and less timidly executed—shows more art than the rest of the statues.

In the Windsor Collection is a pen-and-ink outline of the "Jonah," hatched with white, on a pinky-brown paper. Though assigned to Raphael, it has quite the look of a copy from the statue.

The round of the Loggie shows the figure with the left foot on the ground, by the side of the monster's head.

Elias, the second statue at the

is the attempt to assign to Raphael's hand, the beautiful child asleep or dead on the back of a dolphin in the Bristol collection or the gallery of St. Petersburg, a marble of which the two replicas, at the best, can only be considered as the work of a sculptor familiar with the shapes or the designs of Raphael's school.\*

Popolo, is also seated, but turned to the right, raising his left hand to his head, and supporting with his right a book which rests on his knee. The face is turned upwards; whilst a boy angel appears behind to the left, with a vase in his hand. A long drapery falls down the loins, covers the whole of the right leg and part of the left leg. The head is neither pleasing nor well-cut; the movement is unnatural; the child is executed without spirit. The design may here also have been by Raphael. But the treatment is much feebler than that of the "Jonah." It is, however, curious to observe that, after the marble was finished, some bold sculptor worked off the surface of parts of the prophet and child with a tooth chisel, and these parts were left unpolished.

\* There are two versions in marble of the child on the back of the dolphin. The child is gracefully thrown with its head downwards on the winding body of the dolphin; and the head droops by the side of that of the fish.

The first example is that which belonged to the Earl of Bristol at Downhill (Ireland), and was exhibited in 1857 by Sir Henry Bruce at the Manchester exhibi-

tion. It is larger than a cast of a similar figure now in the Museum of Dresden, and shows none of the breaks which are seen in that cast. It seemed to the authors of these pages not to be a work of Raphael's hand, but an attempt made by a sculptor to realize a design by Raphael.

The second example, said to have belonged to the Breteuil Collection at Rome in 1768 (Cavaceppi, *Raccolta d' antiche Statue*, Roma, 1768, i. p. 44, in Guédéonow's *L'Enfant mort porté sur un dauphin*, 8vo, St. Petersburg, 1872, p. 5), is probably that registered in the inventory of Cardinal Lodovico Ludovisi's property at Rome on Jan. 12, 1633 (Dr. Th. Schreiber in notes to Springer's second ed. of *Raffaël and Michaelangelo*, ii. p. 366). It passed from the Breteuil Collection into that of Mr. Lyde Browne of Wimbledon between 1768 and 1779, and thence by sale in 1787 to the Empress Catherine II. of Russia. It is now in the St. Petersburg Gallery, where it was not seen by the authors, but Professor Dobbert of Berlin, in an article of the *Russischen Revue* (8vo, 1877, pp. 357 and fol.), holds the same opinion of it as the authors hold as regards the Irish replica. See, for

Taken in its narrowest form, the tradition of Raphael's connection with the sister art of sculpture would testify to the interest which he felt for every branch of the profession to which he belonged. It is hardly possible to bring the tradition more nearly into harmony with truth than by repeating after Vasari, that Raphael brought such labours of sculpture as the "Jonah" and "Elias" into existence "by ordering sculptors to carve them," and assisting them to do so by "his judgment." \*

Meanwhile, political events had been taking an unexpected turn in Italy. The battle of Marignano, fought and won by the King of France on the 13th and 14th of September, 1515, had effectually thwarted all the schemes of Leo X. The boldness and rapidity with which he accepted the consequences of a victory which

the literature of this much ventilated question, Müntz, Raphael, p. 583.

We have seen, at a Paris sale in the Hôtel Drouot in 1884, a picture in oil of the "Child on the Dolphin." So far as could be judged, the picture being hung very high, it looked like a work of the 16th century, in the style of the school of Sassoferrato. The statue was so taken that the heads of the child and dolphin were seen to the right of the picture.

If the works described in the foregoing lines do not show more than a Raphaelic origin for the "Boy on the Dolphin," the head of a girl in wax, in the Museum

of Lille, still less deserves to be classed amongst the productions of Raphael. It is a pretty but affected piece of modelling, of a date subsequent to the death of the great master of Urbino.

We shall merely allude in passing to the "Fountain of the Tartarughe" at Rome, a beautiful Florentine work, often assigned to Raphael, but now known to be by the sculptor Matteo Landino, who modelled the four bronze statues of youths beneath the basin for Pope Alexander III. in 1661. See Gaetano Moroni, *Dizionario di Erudizione Stor. Eccl.*, vol. xxv. pp. 169, 170.

\* Vas. viii. 212.

he had not anticipated, surprised his enemies as much as his friends.

He left Rome on the 1st of October to throw himself into the arms of Francis, and as he rode in state towards the north, his able negotiators Canossa and Lorenzo de' Medici were able to tell him that though Milan was lost, Tuscany and the Medici were safe. Francis proved too young and too generous to exhaust the advantages which his position gave him. Lorenzo received the promise of a French princess in marriage and was silently encouraged to wrest the Duchy of Urbino from Francesco Maria della Rovere.

The peace of Bologna, signed by the Pope after his defeat, was transformed into a victory when Raphael represented Charlemagne crowned by Leo III. under the semblance of Francis kneeling before the throne of Leo X. in a chamber of the Vatican.

The change from despondency to buoyant hope was so rapid, that when Leo, before meeting Francis, entered Florence in triumph, he was able to banish politics for a moment from his mind, and send for Michaelangelo, Lionardo, and Raphael to discuss plans for finishing the Medicean church of San Lorenzo.\*

Vasari's assertion that Raphael was ordered to Florence in 1515 has not hitherto been universally believed. There is every reason to think it absolutely correct.† His temporary absence from Rome in Novem-

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\* Leo entered Florence on the 30th of Nov. 1515. See also Vas. vii. p. 35; and Vas. xii. p. 201.

† Vas. xii. p. 201. Baccio

Bandinelli in a letter of Dec. 7, 1547, to the Duke of Florence (Bottari, Lett. i. p. 71), says, "Mi ricordo, quando stavo con Papa

ber of that year is proved by a deed of sale in which the architect Perino da Caravaggio made over to him, "*licet absente*," the freehold of a house in the Via Sistina in Borgo.\*

Michaelangelo, who was in Rome on the 5th of the same November, accompanied Leo on his journey from Florence to Bologna, and Lionardo, it would seem, was also of the party.†

The victories of Leo in 1513 had severed the ties which bound Da Vinci to the French service. He was then induced to become a client of the Medici, who gave him a monthly pension of 33 ducats at Rome.‡ Giuliano's departure to France is announced in a scrap of Da Vinci's diary written at the Vatican on the 9th of January, 1515.§ During the following summer and autumn, Lionardo seems to have been busily employed in reforming the Roman mint.|| His only pictorial undertakings were a portrait of a child and a Madonna for Baldassare Turini.¶ The Pope's commands to attend him at Florence were probably issued at the same

Leone, sua Santità in Firenze mandò per Rafaello da Urbino e pel Buonarroto, e concluse la facciata di San Lorenzo."

\* Rome, Nov. 1551. "Magister Perinus de Senariis de Caravagio architector sponte pro se et suis heredibus et successoribus vendidit domino Raphaele de Urbino pictori, licet absente . . . quamdam ipsius magistri Perini domum positam in Burgo Sancti Petri de Urbe in via Sistina." (Rogiti del Notario Perotti, in A. Berto-

lotti's *Artisti Lombardi a Roma nei Secoli XV., XVI., e XVII.*, vol. i., 8vo, Milano, 1881, p. 39.)

† Michaelangelo to Buonarrotti in Heath Wilson, *u. s.*, p. 210.

‡ A record to that effect in the Florentine archives is quoted by Müntz, *Raphael*, *u. s.*, p. 415. See also Vas. vii. p. 34.

§ Amoretti, *u. s.*, p. 107.

|| Fragment in the *Codex Atlanticus*.

¶ Vas. vii. p. 35.

time as those addressed to Michaelangelo and Raphael. We can fancy the three masters travelling on the same road though not necessarily in company. Their meeting at Florence might be tempered by the presence of Leo X. But the preference given to Michaelangelo's plan for rebuilding San Lorenzo, and the honours done him on his subsequent journey to Bologna were not calculated to damp the fire which smouldered in Da Vinci's breast. A bitter quarrel broke out between the rivals at Florence, and Lionardo's determination to give up the service of the Medici for that of Francis I. is mainly attributable to this cause.\* The French King was like Leo in this, that no business of state was so weighty as to make him forget the arts. Whilst the Pope was settling with Michaelangelo how the marbles of the Medicean chapel should be carried to Florence, Francis was tempting Da Vinci with an appointment, and extracting a promise from Leo that he would give him the group of the Laocoon.† It proved more difficult to obtain the antique than to gain Da Vinci. A copy of the "Laocoon" was prepared for the purpose of deceiving the king. Da Vinci was allowed to accept the appointment which Francis offered. Raphael succumbed to Michaelangelo as Lionardo had succumbed before him. But if his pride was hurt, prudence might suggest that it was best that Buonarrotti should be kept in Tuscany.

A final question remains in respect of these journeys:

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\* *Ibid.*

† Alberi, Relazioni, and Vas. x. p. 302.

Did Raphael join the Pope's party on its way from Florence to Bologna? Did he visit Bologna with Michaelangelo and Lionardo? Circumstantial evidence would point to an affirmative rather than a negative reply. We shall observe that Raphael almost immediately took pictorial commissions for the French court. He painted Francis I. under the garb of Charlemagne in a fresco at the Vatican; he renewed his intimacy with Francesco Francia, to whose care he consigned the celebrated picture of St. Cecilia, and he sent to Count Ercolano the well-known "Ezechiel" now at the Pitti. Besides all this, a letter was written by Raphael to Francia, which a comparatively modern writer assigned to 1508.

A slight effort of memory will take us back to the opening chapter of this volume, in which the date of Raphael's arrival at Rome was discussed. It was shown, we may think conclusively, that Raphael was not at the Vatican in 1508. A careful perusal of Raphael's letter will permit us to suppose that it was written in 1516:

"DEAR MESSER FRANCESCO.

"I have just received, by Bazzotto, your portrait in excellent condition and without a scratch, for which I give you my very best thanks. It is so fine and full of life that I sometimes fancy I am with you listening to your words. Kindly excuse and pardon my delay and waste of time in regard to mine, which I have not been able to paint with my own hand, according to our agreement, on account of serious and

unceasing occupation. I might indeed have sent it to you done by one of my youths, and retouched by myself, but that would not become me, or rather it would do so if it only showed that mine could not equal yours. Pray, therefore, grant me indulgence, since you know from experience what it is to be deprived of one's liberty, and live under obligations to patrons who afterwards . . . &c. Meantime I send you by the same (Bazzotto) who leaves on his return within six days, another drawing, which is that of the Nativity, different indeed as you will see from that which has been executed, but which you were pleased to commend so highly, as you always do all my other works, for which I feel inclined to blush. I blush too to send you this trifle, which I beg you to accept in token of obedience and love, rather than on any other ground. If in exchange I should receive that of your story of Judith, I shall place it among my dearest and most precious treasures.

“Monsignor the Datary is anxiously expecting his little Madonna, and Cardinal Riario his large one, as you will hear more precisely from Bazzotto. I also shall view them with that satisfaction and enjoyment which all your previous productions have given me—productions which no other artist has surpassed in beauty, devotional feeling, or execution. Meantime be of good courage and prudent as is your wont, and be assured that I sympathize with you in all your afflictions as if they were my own. Continue to love me as I love you with all heart.

“RAFAELLE SANZIO.

“From Rome, 5th Sept. 15—.”



Raphael's allusion to the speaking likeness of his friend with whom he had promised to exchange portraits, shows conclusively that they had recently met. The sympathy expressed for Francia's afflictions is explained by his leaning to the party of the Bentivoglii, and Raphael's allegiance to the Rovere, whose cause had been lost at Bologna. Serious and unceasing occupation, numerous assistants, liberty fettered by patrons, pictures painted by deputy—all this points to the period of 1516. The last paragraph in the letter alluding to Cardinal Riario and the Datary are equally conclusive in the same sense. Riario was at Bologna with Leo. He was therefore in a position to admire "the beauty, the devotional feeling, and the perfect execution" which also struck Raphael in Francia's productions. His admiration would easily lead to an order for a Madonna. As for the datary, the same arguments would apply. Since the capture of Bologna by Julius II. in 1506, no datary had officially entered the city till Leo headed the procession which met the victorious Francis in 1515. Three prelates had succeeded each other in the office of datary during the reign of Leo—Lorenzo Pucci, who soon became cardinal; Silvio Passerini, of whom a portrait ascribed to Raphael exists in the Naples museum; and Baldassare Turini.\* Pucci and Turini both accompanied Leo to

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\* *Cardinal Passerini.* Naples Museum. No. 22. 2 ft. 10 h. by 4 ft. 4. Panel. The figure is represented standing under an archway, through which there is a

view of a river with a stone bridge, a tower and buildings, with a range of hills in the background. The cardinal is in barret and cape, turned to the left, but

Bologna. Turini would be prepared to patronize the works of Francia, whose style was equally admired by Da Vinci and Raphael. Pucci was soon to obtain the "St. Cecilia," which adorned a Bolognese church.

Nothing stands in the way of believing that Raphael accompanied the Pope to Bologna, witnessed his meeting with Francis, and made or renewed his acquaintance with Francia. The natural consequence of these events would be the letter which has just been quoted.

That Lionardo should have met and conversed with Raphael on this occasion is not more improbable than that they should have met and conversed at Rome, where they both lived together in 1515. It may be considered strange that Da Vinci's numerous manuscripts should not contain a single allusion to such meetings. But it is characteristic that Lionardo seldom alludes in his writings to any of his more celebrated contemporaries. He is equally silent as to the masterpieces of the Sistine and the Chambers of the Vatican. Yet we

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with his eyes looking to the right. He is seen to the knees, his left hand hanging, his right holding a letter. The execution is careful but cold, and we miss the skilful modelling and rich colour of Raphael. But the Florentine who painted the picture has left on it something of the Raphaelic impress, and he may have been copying an original by Raphael which has perished. His style distantly recalls that of Bronzino or Pon-

torno. But some of the character and handling have been lost by retouching.

Passavant (ii. 358) describes a portrait of Pucci by Raphael, a knee-piece, once in the Casali Palace at Bologna, later on, in possession (1847) of Lord Aberdeen. This portrait may be identical with that belonging to the Duke of Abercorn. No. 87. Acad. Exhibition, 1871. Canv. 38 by 32 inches. (Not seen.)

can as little doubt that he looked at these immortal frescoes as that he met the authors of them, either in cold or in friendly intercourse. The summons to attend Leo for the purpose of deciding on the architectural points involved in the completion of San Lorenzo at Florence must under all circumstances have brought the three artists together. If we could think that Da Vinci was offended at the obvious adaptation of some of his figures by Raphael, we might account for a certain chill in their relations to each other. But Lionardo was too old and experienced, and probably too proud of his influence on the painters of his time, not to have been flattered by a dependence which showed itself in such noble creations as the "Heliodorus" and the "Conversion of St. Paul."

Two days before his death, Giuliano de' Medici had sent for his nephew Lorenzo to warn him against prosecuting his well-known designs on Urbino.\* But the Pope and Lorenzo were bent on the extension of the heritage of their ancestors, and they summoned Francesco Maria della Rovere to appear on a charge of insubordination and treason. Too prudent to obey the summons, the Duke sent Guidubaldo's widow to Rome, and she spared neither prayers nor humiliation to soothe the Pope. But her tears and genuflexions were of no avail. Francesco Maria was declared an outlaw, and his duchy forfeited. Lorenzo, invaded Pesaro, and took possession of Urbino, whilst Francesco Maria in great distress, withdrew to Pietole in

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\* Giuliano died March 17, 1516.

the vicinity of Mantua.\* It is here that we get a glimpse of him, and the ladies of his family, bravely struggling against ill-fortune and parting with the produce of Raphael's pencil to coin money for their daily wants.

"Illustrious Madam," Benedetto Capilupi writes to his mistress the Marchioness of Mantua,—“The Duchesses (Eleanor and Isabella of Urbino) told me the other day that they were obliged to break up and turn into money certain pieces of silver, amongst which are two dishes with bronze handles of very fine make, designed in the antique fashion by Raphael. The dishes are oblong and gilt, and, the Duchesses say, would please your Excellency. They ask whether your Excellency has the means of giving them money or silver ware in exchange for them, as they would willingly part with the dishes rather than see such beautiful work thrown away.”

(Signed) “BENEDETTO CAPILUPI.

“MANTUA, *July 7, 1516.*” †

Painters and sculptors in the age of Julius and Leo often witnessed the destruction of their works. But Raphael would no doubt have seen his dishes melted

\* Lorenzo de' Medici took Pesaro early in June. The news of his success reached the Vatican on the sixth of that month. On Aug. 18 following, Lorenzo was created Duke of Urbino. (P. de

Grassis, *u. s.*, iii. 387.)

† B. Capilupi to the Marchioness of Mantua at Porto, July 7, 1516, in “Il Rafaello” of 20th and 30th Sept. 1876, fol. Rome.

twice over, if by that means Francesco Maria could have been saved from ruin. The letter of Capilupi explains how it happens that so many designs of dishes have been preserved in European collections, whilst the designs themselves are evidence that he left all such things to be done by deputy.\* We can readily imagine that Isabella Gonzaga eagerly grasped at the opportunity of securing a treasure which she could not otherwise obtain. It had been her fortune during a long and well-spent life to collect pictures by Bellini, Mantegna, Perugino, and other great masters of Northern and Central Italy. She had once received a promise that Raphael would paint something for her; and no later than November, 1515, her agent had written a despatch communicating the master's assurance that he was only waiting for instructions as to

\* *Designs for Dishes.* Oxford. No. 82. Pen drawing in umber.  $9\frac{1}{2}$  in. h. by  $16\frac{1}{4}$ . This beautiful design, representing tritons carrying nereids, and fairy boys, nereids floating with amorettes, cupids accompanied by dolphins, and nymphs, in play, seem contemporary with the fresco of the "Galatea." The figures are full of grace and life and motion, yet the line is that of Giulio Romano rather than that of Raphael himself, who probably gave his pupil the rough draft from which the design was executed. The arrangement shows that it was part of a composition for the rim of a dish.

Oxford. No. 83. Pen drawing

in bistre. 9 in. h. by  $14\frac{1}{4}$ . This is a fan-like distribution of figures of men and women; nereids on the back of tritons or sea-serpents. A design of great elegance, but executed with a softer line than the foregoing, and probably by Penni.

Dresden Museum. Pen and ink sketch for the rim of a round salver. A most lively meander of men and women, sea monsters and nereids, and combinations of horses, swans, and turtles, not equal perhaps to Raphael's own work, but probably executed under his supervision by Giulio Romano. (Engraved in Müntz, Raphael, p. 503.)

the light and dimensions of the subject.\* But nothing had come of the promise in 1516 and nothing came of it later, nor was anything likely to come from a man so busy and so energetically pressed by patrons as Raphael was. There were times indeed when importunity and persistency produced immediate results, but in most of these cases the claim had been urged by persons of local influence, and the work required was not of considerable importance. The protonotary Battiferri might ask for designs for the decoration of his house, and Raphael would not find it difficult to make the sketch which Tamagni was deputed to carry out.† The Pope's chamberlain Branconio dell' Aquila might require that Raphael should paint a fresco of the elephant which had thrown Paris de Grassis into a frenzy of delight in 1514.‡ The regal animal had come as a present from the King of Portugal. Its keeper, a great Roman prelate, was mourning over its remains, when Raphael was ordered to paint its likeness on the face of a tower at the Vatican. But the task was an easy one. Giulio Romano had sketched the elephant many a time, and he was probably instructed to execute the fresco.§ A pompous inscrip-

\* Agostino Gonzaga to the Marchioness of Mantua from Rome, June, 1515 ; — to the Marchioness of Mantua, Nov. 8, 1515, from Urbino ; Alfonso Paolucci to the Duke of Ferrara, 1519 (?), in Campori's *Notizie e doc. per la Vita di Gio. Santi e di Raffaello Santi*, *u. s.*, p. 10.

† Vas. viii. p. 147.

‡ Paris de Grassis, *Diarium*, *u. s.*, iii. p. 227.

§ Oxford Museum. No. 146. Four studies of elephants in red chalk, once ascribed to Raphael, are now properly catalogued as by Giulio Romano.

tion set forth the names of Raphael and his patron, and the date of June the 8th, 1516.\*

People of less influence than Branconio dell' Aquila or Battiferri were treated with little ceremony. The nuns of Monteluce, from whom Raphael had received an advance of money in 1505, had since been waiting for a picture which the master had not even begun when the Roman mob were gathered round the portrait of the elephant. The contract renewed with the nuns on the 21st of June, 1516, is actually exhibited in the gallery of the Louvre,† but the "Coronation of the Virgin," which was delivered in accordance with its stipulations, was not painted by Raphael. It was carried out as late as 1525, by the joint efforts of his residuary legatees, Giulio Romano and Gian Francesco Penni.‡ Gregorio Cortese, a Benedictine abbot, and

\* Cancellieri in Müntz, Raphael, p. 421.

† Louvre. Salle des Boites, No. 1617.

‡ *Coronation of Monteluce*. Vatican Museum. No. xxv. Wood. M. 3·54 h. by 2·31. The original contracts for this picture are in Bianconi's *Opere*, 8vo, Milan, 1802, vol. iv., and are dated severally Dec. 29, 1505, and June 21, 1516. The picture was painted by Giulio Romano and Penni on two panels, the upper one, containing the Virgin crowned by the Saviour, being by the first; the lower one, with the Apostles round the tomb, being by the second. It was thought possible by Passavant (*Raph.* ii. 310) that Raphael

should have made the sketches in 1516, which he says are preserved in the plates of the Master of the Die, and that he left the figures drawn on the panel at his death. But this is very doubtful, nay, almost impossible, because, amongst the figures of the twelve, one on the extreme left, raising both hands in prayer and looking up, and another one next him, looking into the tomb, are derived from the "Transfiguration," which Raphael left unfinished at his death. Besides, there is a record of 1518 (*Giornale d'Erud. Tosc.* i. p. 154), which proves that the panels were then in course of preparation at Perugia.

The light of the picture eman-

a cardinal to boot, asked Raphael in 1516, to decorate the refectory of his monastery at Modena. But the answer to this application was curt and negative. Raphael declared that he could not leave Rome even for a brief space, without the certainty of a very large fee.\*

Shortly after these occurrences, and probably about the beginning of 1517, the Duke of Ferrara began negotiating with the busy artist, for a Triumph of Bacchus. The time had not yet come when Titian was acknowledged as the greatest Italian of whom any potentate could order a canvas. Alphonzo of

ates from the dove which hovers over Christ and the Virgin, who sit on clouds, between two angels casting flowers, and two winged cherubs in prayer. The dove illumines the upper space brightly, the brilliancy fading away as it descends to the Apostles gathered round the tomb, which is built in a cave, seen from inside, and showing a fine landscape through its natural vaulting. This landscape is one of the most beautiful parts of the picture, being a view of the hill and cascade with the Temple of Vesta at Tivoli. Even now there are caves under the Temple like that which Penni represents. The upper panel is executed with remarkable boldness and in ruddy colours, the lower in colder tones and with outlines of excessive hardness; and it would seem as if the two artists painted separately, and afterwards neglected to harmonize

the parts when they were joined. It may be that Raphael furnished a rough design as a first impression for the picture. But Giulio gave the Virgin less serene beauty and Christ less dignity than Raphael would have produced, and Penni, who probably worked from Giulio's designs, was merely careful and conscientious. Not a trace appears of the help which, according to Vasari, was received by Penni and his mate from Perino del Vaga (viii. p. 243). The predella was painted by Berto di Giovanni at Perugia (Hist. of Italian Painting, iii. p. 347). The picture delivered at Perugia on the 21st of June, 1525, was carried away to Paris in 1797, and restored at the peace in 1815. It is now in a fair state of preservation.

\* Gregorio Cortesii Mut. Epistolæ, Ven. 1573, p. 144, ap. Pungil. Raphael, p. 198.



Este had not as yet secured the talents of any person more skilled than Pellegrino da Udine. It was not strange that he should covet a masterpiece by Raphael, or that Raphael should be flattered by such a mark of distinction. But whilst the Bishop of Adria, who was the Duke's agent at Rome, made repeated visits to secure the promise of a picture, and then to obtain performance of the promise, the obstacles and impediments to the settlement of a matter apparently so simple grew in proportion to the eagerness of the Duke and his envoy. The correspondence of the Bishop with his master between March and November, 1517, proves the pertinacity of the patron's demands as much as the cleverness of the client in excuses and delays. But the revelations which they contain as to the causes which led to this state of things are precious in a higher degree. We learn from the earliest of the letters that Raphael was then painting the "St. Michael spearing the dragon," and the "Holy Family" which the Medici ordered for Francis I. and his Queen. A second letter shows how Raphael's duties as chief of the Roman excavations enabled him to secure medals, heads, and even entire figures of antique carving which might be added to the museums of those whom he condescended to favour. On the 2nd of June, Raphael declared that he should complete the Camera dell' Incendio within two days, and that then he would earnestly set to work to satisfy the Duke. In September he had sketched the "Triumph of Bacchus," and sent it to Ferrara. But having heard by return of his messenger that

Pellegrino da Udine had begun the same subject, he declared that he would give it up and select another. November came and still nothing had been done, but in order to keep the Duke in good humour Raphael presented to him the cartoon of "the Story of Leo III., which had been finished some months before." The Duke responded with a gift of fifty ducats, which was accepted with the ominous assurance that the Ferrarese commission would proceed, though much impeded by duty "to the Pope and the palatine Cardinals." If Raphael omitted to add that he had been painting the "Madonna di San Sisto" for a church at Piacenza, "St. Cecilia" for Cardinal Pucci, and "Ezekiel" for Count Ercolani at Bologna, or the "Spasimo" for Santa Maria dello Spasimo at Palermo, he would have probably discouraged the Bishop of Adria.\* As matters stood, it was clear that much would have to be done by Raphael himself, more still by his disciples. Less than ever was it in the master's power to trust to his own exertions, less than ever to dispense with the work of his pupils at the Camere or in the painting room at home. He produced the "Madonna di San Sisto" with his own hand, the "Spasimo" with slight aid from assistants, the "St. Cecilia" with some help from Giovanni da Udine. Giulio Romano had a considerable share in the "St. Michael" and the "Holy Family" of Francis I. The "Ezekiel" was almost entirely if not wholly left to

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\* For this correspondence, see | Raffaello da Urbino, *u. s.*, pp. 6-8.  
Campori's Notizie Inedite di |

his discretion, and the frescos of the *Camère* were put in a very large measure into the hands of disciples under the constant supervision of the master himself.

Roman annals tell how Leo III. was dethroned and confined in a Roman monastery. They also tell of his escape from confinement, and his sudden appearance at the court of Charlemagne. The King of the Franks marched into Italy with a large army and made his triumphal entry into Rome. The charges brought against Leo by those who dethroned him were tried before a court over which the King presided. Leo declined the jurisdiction, but purged himself by an oath; and acknowledging Charlemagne as the chief of the Empire, he established on a new and solid foundation the connection of Rome with Western Europe. It is easy to detect the analogies which Leo X. might observe between events six centuries old, and occurrences which had just taken place in Italy. He had not been deposed, yet he had gone to meet Francis I. at Bologna. Francis was not an Emperor, but it might be that he would one day hold that dignity. He had bowed before the majesty of the Pontiff and humbly kissed his foot, and Leo in return had signed a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance. It was a pretty compliment to attribute to such an act the political importance of a coronation, and represent the King of France receiving the crown from Leo X., whilst the act so depicted might appear to Italians a distinct assertion of the papal supremacy.

Leo again had not been charged with crimes and

misdemeanours, but he might think it of interest to demonstrate pictorially what Leo III. had declared, what Boniface VIII. had proclaimed, and the Lateran council had just confirmed, that bishops could not be tried before lay tribunals. So the oath of Leo was painted by Raphael with the motto, "*Dei non hominis est episcopus judicare.*"

In the life of Leo III., the swearing of the oath necessarily preceded the coronation, but there was no reason why the two events should be presented in the same chronological order at the Vatican.

The habit of holding ceremonies in the basilica of St. Peter had never been completely abandoned. In spite of wind and weather it was still usual to display occasionally the pomp and circumstance of the highest festivals at the altar of the apostle. Raphael was bidden to represent the coronation of Charlemagne by Leo III. at the tomb of St. Peter, but he was also told to give Charlemagne the features of Francis and Leo the face of the reigning pontiff. Additional effect was imparted to this metamorphose by depicting the basilica in the state to which it had been brought under Raphael's superintendence. Unfortunately the area screened off from the ruins about the Dome was so small and difficult of access that it was not easy to get a good view of the space. It is probably on this account that we find in Raphael's fresco a choir loft erected over a doorway, a copious use of hangings, a screen separating the domed square from the transept, a throne in front of the altar protected by a long strip of tapestry, and seats for the clergy at an incon-

venient angle to the plane of the picture. All the more is the skill apparent which was exercised, not in vain, to overcome the difficulties of a composition full of contrasts of every kind.

Two splendid red chalk studies in the Academy of Düsseldorf tell us that Raphael was allowed to be present at one of the solemn services of St. Peter's and draw the college of cardinals in robes, from life. The transfer of every one of these figures to the fresco is a proof that he designed them with a perfect scheme of the whole picture in his mind. In one of these drawings we observe the two bareheaded dignitaries who stand near a seated bishop to the left of Charlemagne; the second drawing represents eight cardinals on a double row of seats, as they appear to the knees in the right foreground of the "*Coronation*."\* It is not possible to conceive anything more admirable as a delineation of the action, expression, and dress of a bench of prelates than these two sheets of studies afford. The cardinals sit in close proximity to each other, all in the same splendid livery of mitres, ribbons, and damask, yet all in different action, turn of head, and expression. Rapid as was the pencil which traced the lines, the contours are so clear and so faultless that nothing remained but to transfer them to the wall, and when we take leave of them it

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\* *Coronation of Charlemagne.* These drawings, in the Academy of Düsseldorf, are on two sides of the same sheet of paper; the first (three figures) being 0·20 h. by 0·19; the second (eight figures)

0·26 h. by 0·29. The sheet was in the collection of the Duke of Tallard, and was purchased at the sale of Gerard Hoet at the Hague in 1760 for 7 florins 10.

is with the feeling that we should like to have similar delineations of all the persons at the ceremony. With the exception of a pen sketch at the Albertina for two of the singers in the choir loft, less remarkable for finish than for the marvellous quickness with which they are thrown off, none of the preparatory labours for the composition have been preserved.\*

We noted the choir loft on the left side of the picture. It rests high up above a door on which the arms of the Medici are painted. The singers of the Albertina sketch are looking over the parapet dressed in white surplices. They are eagerly scanning the scene beneath them. The threshold of the door is not seen, nor indeed the whole of the people gathered together at its side, which are figures of porters carrying the presents of Charlemagne, a silver table, and vases of precious metals. But they appear struggling on to the sacred space, coarse and muscular beings in working dress, directed in their movements by a knight in full armour, who kneels at their side. Above this press the altar is seen with the cross embroidered on its dazzling cloth and the tapers alight on its edge. Soldiers with banners form a guard behind it; near them a line of six bishops on one seat, partly concealing a group of dignitaries, some of them in military dress, at whose head is Pepin, the

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\* Albertina. Pen sketch, washed in white, 9 in. h. by 7. In this beautiful drawing we have the singer nearest the spectator stooping and leaning his hand on the arm of his companion, who stands with both hands on the parapet before him. Lower down, the first of these figures is repeated in another shape.

king's son, with the baton of his rank and a crown round a helmet adorned with plumes. Nearer the spectator, to the right, Leo, enthroned, bends forward with the Imperial crown in both hands, which he prepares to place on the head of the kneeling Francis. An awkward little page, supposed to represent Ippolito de' Medici runs up the throne step with a second crown.\* The sceptre and orb in the king's hands proclaim his assumption of the empire. The bishops form a semicircle round the back of the throne, bareheaded clerks, train-bearers of the prelates, stand or crouch in the second place, and a double row of cardinal bishops fills the right foreground. In the distance above the screen, the eye is allowed to wander into the depths of the southern transept of the new St. Peter. The clever spirals in which the lines of the composition are wound, the figures alternately sitting, standing, stooping, or kneeling, the light powerfully thrown on the crowd, all help to conceal an oblique perspective. Many of the people represented are portraits which we saw gladdened the heart of Pietro Bembo. But who shall distinguish the faces of men who died centuries ago? Francis, we know, is the kneeling monarch, Leo X. the officiating Pope; yet both are bad likenesses, which was excusable as regards the king, but inexcusable as regards the pontiff. Not a touch of Raphael in the face of either, though traces of such touches are clearly in those of the clergy. Not even Giulio's

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\* Vas. viii. p. 40.

hand can be pointed to but rather that of Giovanni da Udine in the porters, and the rusty tones and hard outlines of Penni in the rest of the picture.\*

“The Oath of Leo” is arranged in the space about the window of the Camera, like the “Mass of Bolsena” in the Chamber of Heliodorus—a grand conception of an animated scene, insufficiently handled by assistants of Raphael, but interesting for numerous portraits, some of them rounded and modelled in the feeling of Da Vinci, and all with that dignity of mien which Raphael caught from Ghirlandaio’s example. The altar, without cross or candles, is here the centre of attraction. On the white front of it is the “Rescue of St. Catherine” by angels from the wheel: behind the altar the papal throne and daïs with its backing of light cloth patterned with scutcheons bearing the pontifical keys. Between altar and throne, and seen to the elbows behind the former, Leo raises his head and eyes to Heaven, and swears as he lays his hands on the book of which the binding is raised from the desk by a grandly shaped secretary. At the Pope’s right shoulder the mitre-bearer is accompanied by a cardinal who lifts Leo’s embroidered mantle. The cardinals stand in a semicircle round the altar, all of

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\* *Coronation of Charlemagne.* The fresco is injured in two ways, abrasion and restoring. It is to the latter that we must attribute the alteration of many colours and the want of transparence which gives heaviness to the shadows. The best painted head

is that of the nearest bishop on the foremost row of seats to the right; on the mantles of the priests standing round the chair we note embroidered pictures of the Resurrection, the Nativity, and the Baptism of Christ.



them in surplices and stoles, or damask robes, but bareheaded and mitre in hand. The varied movements and expression of their heads all revive in our minds those memories of Lionardo of which we have just spoken. On an elevated seat to the left of the daïs a clerk displays the crown of Charlemagne, beneath him the bearer of a crucifix and other spectators. Charlemagne himself is on the platform to the left of the altar, pointing to the Pope, and dressed in the mantle of a Roman patrician, over which a stately golden chain is hanging. His features are strangely like those which Titian has taught us to acknowledge as those of Alphonzo of Ferrara, whilst on the opposite end of the platform to the right another person is standing, who probably represents Paschalis the Pope's accuser, but whose profile resembles Lorenzo de' Medici. A flight of steps leads downwards from the platform, showing its stone ends at each side of the aperture of the Camera window. On these steps or at the foot of them, the mace-bearers are resting, and near them are fine representations of the military following of the Pope in the rich and variegated dress of chieftains armed in steel and velvet after the fashion of the 16th century.

Though damaged by repeated restorations, and in this respect worse treated than the "Coronation," the fresco of the "Oath" still allows us to mark the places where Raphael's brush travelled, correcting the sweep of Penni's tools with masterly touches, which brought into prominence the head of Leo and the faces of his attendant cardinals. Time has been unkind to the

lower groups, which, originally it would seem by Giovanni da Udine, have either been half effaced or partially painted over. What the beauties of the work must have been when Raphael put the name of Leo X. on the soffit of the window, and conveyed to the world that the Camera was finished in 1517, but in the fourth year of the pontificate, it is impossible to say. We are obliged to look for beauties now, which perhaps were very manifest in the days of Bembo.

But Raphael is said to have told the Bishop of Adria in the early days of June, 1517, that he still wanted forty-eight hours to complete the Camera dell' Incendio. If that were true it would appear that the inscription on the window, which proves an earlier completion, is erroneous. The matter may be explained by supposing that between March and June, the principal frescos being ready, Giulio Romano was busy painting the figures of Hermes which hold the scrolls, enclosing the mottoes affixed to each picture, and carrying out the six bronze monochromes of "Constantine," "Godfrey of Bouillon," "Astolph," "Lothair," "Pepin," and "Ferdinand the Catholic," which, according to Vasari, adorned the skirting of the room. Whether Giulio also composed the small scenes from the life of Christ and St. Peter, in the embrasures of the windows, it is now hard to say.\*

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\* *Oath of Leo.* The fresco is bleached and repainted to such an extent that parts about the sides

of the window are all but obliterated. On the soffit of the window we read: LEO X. P. M. ANNO

Students of Raphael are accustomed to look down on the last frescos of the Camera dell' Incendio, as being less than any other ennobled by the genius of Raphael. There is some excuse for this in the state to which the walls have been reduced, yet the "Coronation" and the "Oath" are still splendid displays of composition, portraiture, and expression, and they are remarkable for a realism which is in singular contrast with the conventionalism of Perugino as shown in the subjects of the roofing. Had we not followed Raphael as he progressed from Perugia to Florence, and Florence to Rome, we should not dream of thinking that he is the pupil of the hoary artist who painted the ceiling. But a more important consideration suggests itself. Raphael at Rome had taken with him the principles of Lionardo, and gradually abandoned them as Michaelangelo created the wonders of the Sixtine Chapel. Michaelangelo resigned the brush, and Da Vinci came to Rome; Da Vinci met Raphael, we may think, at the Vatican, and accompanied him to Florence and Bologna. He completely restored his old sway over the pupil of Perugino, who manifested the energy of the reaction, partially in the cartoons, partially in portraits, and powerfully in the later pictures of the third chamber. From that time for-

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CHRISTI MDXVII. in two lines to the left of the Medici arms; PONTIFICAT. SVI ANNO IIII. to the right of the escutcheon. The fresco was thus finished previous to the 11th of March.

The figures on the skirting, and

the pictures on the window openings were so completely gone at the close of the 17th century, that some were partly, others entirely repainted in 1702-3 by Carlo Maratta.

ward it was all over with Michaelangelo's influence, which withered in the breast of Raphael, whilst it survived in that of his pupils Giulio Romano, Penni, and Perino del Vaga.

It may seem a trite remark, yet it is not less true than trite, that language and painting are both appropriate vehicles for conveying our thoughts. Painting, however, often imperfectly performs its duty, whilst language usually expresses what we feel in every variety of form. Yet there is one thing which language cannot compass, and that is, give adequate shape to the image produced in our mind by an admirable picture.

No words, however subtle they may be, can do justice to Raphael's "Madonna of St. Sixtus," which a catalogue would register as the "Virgin and Child between attendant Saints." It might occur to any person to attempt the delineation of a Virgin descending from the pinnacle of heaven to the clouds, and bearing her divine son in her arms to present him to the wondering devotion of holy people. It might happen to the same person to imagine that the scene would be more impressive, as scenes may sometimes be, by the sudden raising of a curtain. But no one except Raphael could venture on such expedients, and still produce an apparition so beautiful, and of an effect so startling, as to stir the very innermost recesses of our hearts. There are sounds in music that strike us to the very core and bring tears of pleasure to our eyes. The purest melodies, the most faultless harmonies, are those which alone produce this

state of feeling. There are sensitive beings who confess to a momentary weakness of a similar kind, when looking at the Sixtine Madonna, and we feel inclined to analyze the causes that lead to such a display. It is not that the bearded and kneeling Sixtus, with his baldness and wrinkles, looks up in the ardor of his adoration with such reverent questioning to the Saviour, and pointing with his finger outwards, suggests that he is only God's vicar on earth, to whom it is vouchsafed to kneel in paradise. Not that Barbara, with her pensive and youthful face, is more than a chaste and pleasing creature doing homage with downcast eyes to the majesty of Christ. The dresses of both are pompously wrought, but the fashion of them is entirely of earth; the white surplice and yellow stole, the mantle with its coloured edges, are as much parts of the ceremonial dress of a pontiff as the tiara on the sill of the opening through which we are looking. They are as familiar to us as the fashion of Barbara's hair, combed into waves off the forehead and ears, and bound with a ribbon, or the pretty variety of tinted veils, or tunics and skirts. The kneeling posture of a girl intent on prayer is very familiar to our eyes. Those two lovely angels who lean on the parapet behind which the clouds are rolling, and dart their glances upwards as they shake their coloured winglets in serene and sparkling gladness, are but beautiful children, one of them resting his elbow on the stone and his chin on his hand, the other leaning his face on the arms which he calmly superposes. The Virgin, erect in her blue mantle, is

but a nobly-shaped woman, stepping lightly and with bare feet on the rolling mist, the folds that swathe her shape outlining its forms and yielding to the breeze. The veil on her head sweeps gracefully outwards in curves to expose the gauze of the scarf round the shoulders and throat, and the draped red tunic and close-fitting sleeve. Mary is but a mother, whose hands are grasping the frame of her child and the cloth on which he is resting. Jesus is a handsome, full-grown boy, nestling in the bed of stuff which the Virgin supports. His left hand on his bent right leg, his left foot pendant, his right hand clutching the veil that runs through his fingers, are nature itself. The hangings looped up to reveal the groups are but green silk furnished with rings that are strung on an ordinary rope. Bound up in festoons, they allow of a glance into the ether beyond, where, out of the sky, innumerable cherubs come faint and less faint to the view.

Each one of these things being but a note in the chord of the melody, the chord itself is formed into one full and unbroken wave which swells on the sense and affects us indescribably. But something there is besides, which prolongs and intensifies the harmony—form of ideal purity, proportions and modelling unrivalled in the practice of painting, flesh of silvery tinge, hands and feet and limbs cast in a mould of supreme elegance and marvellous vigour, colours bright as crystals or precious stones, balanced with a delicacy of scale only attained by the skill of one favoured master; light as saturated and clear as when the storm has passed and the sun shines on the

raindrops ; shadow so strong as to give the idea of darkness yet transparent enough to show each particle of detail. Above all, there is beauty and fitness in the contrasts between the age of Sixtus and the youth of Barbara, and the pitting of these human semblances with the supernatural air of Christ, whose bristling hair gives prominence to a grand forehead and a look like a concentration of imperishable thought as it radiates over the world or the lofty dignity of Mary, whose contour is faultless, whose brow is perfect, whose nose and lips are chiselled, and whose eyes, like those of her divine son, reflect an eternity of unutterable fondness. There is a shade in those eyes so solemn and so grand, something so penetrating and profound, that we ask ourselves where the magic of them lies, and we look into them again and again, till a deep sense of mystery is left upon us, a mystery of which the source was known to Raphael, and Raphael alone.

Who stirred the master to the creation of such a marvellous outpouring of his spirit, is a question which has never been answered. We know that the picture was executed for the monks of San Sisto of Piacenza,\* whose cupidity was tempted in the 18th century by Augustus of Saxony. The treasure was taken to Dresden in 1753 ; but we are ignorant of the means by which the friars of a distant community had interest enough to secure the promise and accomplish the delivery of so perfect a masterpiece.†

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\* Vas. viii. p. 43.

† See note next page.

Piacenza lies in the north of Italy, far away from the great centre of the Vatican; but it is not very far from Bologna, where Leo's court was held in 1515. It may be that the moving spirit in this matter was Antonio de' Monti, Cardinal of San Sisto, whose likeness had been introduced into the fresco of the Decretals in 1514, whose duty took him to Bologna, where the pontiff met Francis I., and whose portrait is supposed to have been painted by Raphael.\* A prelate who bore the title of Saint Sixtus might well have been asked by the friars of San Sisto to obtain an altarpiece for them. Their success might embolden Cortese, then Cardinal of Modena, to ask for a favour which Raphael was unable to grant. The "Madonna di San Sisto" was certainly executed, if we judge of it by its style, in the period of the cartoons.†

\* *Portrait of Cardinal de' Monti.*

This portrait, on panel, 2 ft. 8 by 2 ft. 2, was bought in 1845 at the sale of the Fesch Collection by Mr. Leopold Fabris of Rome, who is still the owner of it. The face is that of the cardinal behind Giovanni de' Medici in the fresco of the Decretals, but older. The prelate sits in a room at a table, with a diminutive monkey at his elbow. He is seen at three-quarters to the right, looking at the spectator. His barret and surplice are black, his mantle red. In his right hand he holds a letter. Through an opening to the right a landscape is seen. The surface of the panel has been unequally cleaned, and in some places scarified; but there are

parts sufficiently preserved to warrant us in thinking that the painter may have been Sebastian del Piombo. The landscape is much in his manner, and the technical execution on a bed of greys in flesh is that of a master whose hand we detected in a so-called Raphael (portrait of a lady) at Blenheim, and a so-called Raphael (male portrait) in the Scarpa Collection at La Motta.

† "Madonna di San Sisto." Dresden Museum. No. 67. Canvas (of very fine texture). 9½ ft. h. by 7. Bought for 40,000 scudi (circa, £9,000) from the monks of San Sisto of Piacenza, and replaced by Nogari's copy, which now hangs high on the wall of the choir. In 1827 the picture was restored by



But not the "Madonna di San Sisto" alone was executed for a north Italian church. Cardinal Pucci, who was Raphael's friend, had been one of those whom Leo X. commanded to attend him on his journey to Bologna in 1515. In one of the finest churches of Bologna, which bore the name of San Giovanni in Monte, a chapel had been dedicated early in the 16th century to St. Cecilia, and there Cardinal Pucci was induced to contribute a picture by Raphael ~~in~~ in honour of the patron saint of the place.\* When the altarpiece was finished, it was forwarded to Francia, who willingly superintended the hanging of it. Vasari's anecdote that Francia was so affected by the sight of this beautiful work that he sickened and died, is so far of interest, as it shows that the chapel received its final adornment previous to Francia's death.†

Pucci was a Florentine, one of the four cardinals whom Leo created in 1513. His title was Santi Quattro—and it was not out of keeping that Raphael should have chosen four saints to attend St. Cecilia.

Palmaroli, by cleaning and stippling. In this operation the body of the Saviour was more altered than any other part; but some of the last finesses were also removed from the whole of the surface. As Passavant truly observed, the two angels at the parapet were painted in last over the ground of cloud. There are copies of the "Madonna di San Sisto" in the Museum of Rouen, and at San Severino at Naples, and a tracing from the

original is in the National Gallery.

The cartoon of an angel's head at the British Museum (Payne-Knight Collection), not very unlike that to the right in the foreground, has been considered a first impression for the "Madonna di San Sisto," but it looks more like an independent design by Sodoma.

\* Vas. viii. p. 30.

† *Ib.*, vi. p. 13. Francia died on the 5th of January, 1518.

But what was the special devotion that prompted Pucci's attachment to the patroness of music? What meaning are we to attach to the organ that nearly drops from St. Cecilia's hand, what meaning to the viol, the flute, the triangle, the cymbals, and drums that lie heaped on the foreground? The key to this mystery may be found in contemporary diaries. The only care that Pucci knew had been caused by his defect of ear. Raised to the highest rank in the church, he was unable to intone a mass. His rebellious voice never sounded a note that did not jar on the ears of the whole college of cardinals. When he began to sing, the prelates of the Sistine chapel burst into irrepressible laughter. In vain he refused to officiate under the plea that he sang too badly. Despairing, he pleaded for the heavenly intercession of St. Cecilia, and she inspired a master of the Sistine Chapel to cure his defects in six months' lessons.

It is very probable that the picture of St. Cecilia fully justified Francia's extasy and Vasari's praise when it was first exhibited in San Giovanni in Monte. It was so popular that Marcantonio helped to multiply its charms in a copperplate which in the main reproduced the beauties of the original. A well-

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\* 1518, March 11. SS. Quattro refuses to perform at Mass in the Sistine. "Quia cantavit ita ut omnes riserunt." P. de Grassis *Diarium*, u. s., iii. 161. 1518, Nov. 1. Same refusal for the same

cause. *Ibid.*, p. 713. 1519, Feb. 2. Pucci chaunts the Mass in the Sistine. "Cui studuerat per menses sex, ut bene cantaret." *Ibid.*, p. 743.

known critic aptly said that print and picture were like Sonatas by Haydn and Beethoven.\* Technically speaking, the work is that of Raphael shortly after the completion of the "Madonna di San Sisto." But years have told on the surfaces, which were carefully transferred to canvas and retouched, without bringing them back to their original state, or reviving the harmonized finish, which was doubtless due to Raphael's delicate toning. Yet even now, in spite of abrasions and modern additions, all trace has not been lost of the fine gradations, rich tints and mellow atmosphere in which the sweetest of painters rivalled the wonderful daylight of a Roman afternoon. The sun sheds a warm haze on six angels, whose shapes are faint as they sit on a semicircle of warm clouds. Four of these choristers hold a volume of notes between them; two to the right rest a similar book on the clouds, and all intone the psalm, which fills the air with its melody. A brighter ray powerfully illumines the faces of five saints on the foreground, whose shapes are finely picked out against the opal greys of the sky in front of a Tiberine landscape. They all listen, variously affected, to the chaunt that rings in their ears. St. Cecilia is so entranced, that, looking up, she almost unconsciously carries in her two hands the organ, that is actually losing some of its pipes. In a single instant, it may be, the instrument will fall and add one more to the heap at her feet. All the arts of the human instrumentalist are

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\* H. Grimm, in the *Deutsche Rundschau* for 1880, p. 136.

vain, so the picture seems to tell us. Heaven alone can grant to Cardinal Pucci the gift that nature hitherto withheld.

That St. Cecilia should be looking up to heaven, is natural and appropriate. But Raphael could not infuse into a face so strongly foreshortened all the grace that was imparted to the Virgin of San Sisto. But the dreamy way in which Cecilia holds the organ, and the rapture in her rounded face, are very charming. The back hair, in plaits, forms a knot on the top of her head; the front hair, brushed off the forehead and ears, falls in rich masses on a neck and shoulders of ample breadth. The dress, too, is rich and gorgeous; the string of pearls round the dress bordering the throat is adorned with a jewel; the yellow tunic, damasked with crimson flowers, is bound to the waist with a belt, and its folds but partly cover a red-toned skirt that falls on the instep of the sandalled foot. Sprightly and joyous, as she advances, carrying a jar of ointment, Mary Magdalen looks out of the picture, as if to say she has just come to join the party—a fine half-matronly figure in gorgeous garments, fitly contrasting with the stern St. Paul, who leans on the pommel of his sword, on the other side. The face of the Magdalen is not so youthful, her features are not so candid, as the face and features of St. Cecilia; her forms are more largely developed; but her eye has something of the penetrating glance which Raphael had learnt to delineate. St. Paul looks majestic in his green tunic and red robe, bending his grand face towards the earth,

stroking his beard with the hand which comes naturally to the chin because the elbow of the arm rests on the other hand that holds a bundle of papers and rests on the hilt of the sword. We see distinctly how Raphael had renewed his reminiscences of Lionardo during his recent visit to Florence, and repeated in the "St. Cecilia" the experiment which he had tried in the "Disputa," by adapting a noble figure from Da Vinci's "Nativity." The permanent effect of this impression, noticeable in other works of this period, appears conspicuously in the two figures of St. Joseph in the "Holy Families," known as the "Madonna under the Oak," at Madrid, and the "Madonna of Francis I.," at the Louvre, as well as in the apostles of the "Transfiguration." At each side of St. Cecilia and behind St. Paul and the Magdalen, St. John Evangelist and St. Augustin exchange glances. The eagle stands at John's feet, and the whole group of five cleverly intercepts the greater portion of a view of verdant wooded hills, one of which is crowned with a church. The instruments, painted by Giovanni da Udine, give a good idea of the mastery of that artist, who was probably employed in conjunction with Giulio Romano in some parts of this noble picture. In later productions, undertaken under similar conditions, Giulio probably did more than he was allowed to do here, but Raphael's modelling then lost some of its subtlety, for which a more uniform and less searching display of flesh was substituted. Here we have still, in a great measure, the skilful treatment of face and

hands, the admirable outline, the grand dignity, which were Raphael's peculiar gifts. The type of the "St. Cecilia," like that of the Sixtine "Madonna," reminds us naturally of the study of a model which was familiar to Raphael, and which seems to have been a source of continuous inspiration to his pencil. For though neither of these creations seems based on anything earthly, yet we know how able Raphael was in distinguishing between that which was fine in nature and that which was ideally lovely, and how cleverly he could transform the first in order to produce the second.\*

The so-called "Fornarina" of the Barberini Palace at Rome, which, we may venture to think, formed the groundwork of Raphael's art at this time, was considered, early in the 17th century, as a portrait of one united to Raphael by ties peculiarly close. The

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\* "St. Cecilia." Bologna Gallery. No. 152. Wood transferred to canvas.  $7\frac{1}{4}$  ft. h. by  $4\frac{1}{2}$ . The picture was taken to Paris in 1798, and stretched on cloth in 1803 by Hacquin. It was sent back to Bologna in 1815, again cleaned and relieved of some of Hacquin's repaints. The sky and glory suffered a good deal, but are still very fine. The last finesses have been removed throughout, and the colours are somewhat dull and opaque in the shadows. St. John Evangelist is the best preserved part; the rest is somewhat crude in outline.

The numerous copies made from

the "St. Cecilia" by Bolognese artists are a proof of the admiration felt for the masterpiece in the 17th century. The best of these are that of Guido Reni, now on the altar of the second chapel to the right in San Luigi de' Francesi at Rome. A second, attributed to D. Calvaert, and purchased from the Casa Ranuzzi at Bologna, is No. 69, canvas,  $8\frac{1}{2}$  ft. h. by  $5\frac{1}{4}$ , in the Dresden Museum. A third, much restored, bought at Bologna in 1859, is No. 1054, in the Munich Pinak. The drawings of the "St. Paul" in the Venice Academy and the Teyler Collection at Harlem are copies.

words in which Fabio Chigi described the likeness in the palace of the Duke of Buoncompagni in 1618, would indicate that the taste of his age was not in consonance with that of Raphael. He speaks of the picture as unhandsome—" *tabulam non admodum speciosam.*" But he inferred from the bracelet on the woman's arm, which bore, as it still now bears, the name of Raphael, that the person represented was one to whom the painter was attached.\* Looking at the face and all but naked body of this female, it does not appear that she was without charm. There is that in the eye, and the sensuous, finely-cut lip, that contradicts the words of the prelate. But Chigi was probably right in his judgment of the lady's character, which Raphael has set forth in traits of indelible fidelity. The rich forms of a Roman as distinguished from the more delicate shape of a Tuscan are very marked in this picture of a girl who, it would seem, had nothing to conceal but what she thought desirable to hide. Her face and glance are thrown into contraries, the first to the left, the second to the right. By this combination the coal-black eyes have a fascinating look of intentness which is all the more effective as they are resolutely open, under brows of the purest curves. The mouth has already been described. The nose is less delicately made. But the forehead has a grand arch, the cheeks are broad, the chin rounded and small. The contours are all circular. The flesh has a fulness which charac-

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\* Chigi, Agostino il Magnifico. Ed. Cugnoni, u. s., p. 30.

terizes alike the neck, the drooping shoulders, and the arms and extremities. Yet large as these parts undoubtedly are, they move with grace, as one hand raises the gauze to the breast without altogether intercepting the view of the parts beneath it, and the other rests on the red drapery which winds round the lap. If there is want of breed, that want is corrected by art; and then come other surroundings to reveal a certain splendour of daily existence. The chestnut hair combed flat under a turban of cloth striped with blue and yellow, and formed into a grand knot behind the neck, would look simple enough but for the contrast of a rich jewel set with pearls. The ground of stems with pointed leaves alternating with ears of weed, in a rich tint of green, ingeniously relieves the warm tone of flesh burnished to a nicety, and shaded with exceptional force. We are again reminded of Raphael's acquaintance, recently renewed, with the masterpieces of Lionardo, and we trace to the same source the filmy rubbings of glazing by which the whole surface was brought into a uniform harmony of glow.\* Giulio Romano thought it

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\* *The "Fornarina."* Rome. Palazzo Barberini. Room III. 82. There is nothing to prove that this fine life-size knee-piece, on panel, represents Raphael's mistress. Fabio Chigi had no other evidence than that of Raphael's signature, "RAPHAEL VRBINAS," on the armlet to go by, except Vasari's general statement that Raphael painted the portraits of

many "Donne, and particularly his own" (Vas. viii. pp. 36 and 44). The picture was unequally cleaned by Palmaroli in 1820, and has been injured in the parts about the throat and the hand on the bosom. The background, too, is darker than it should be. But the eyes and forehead are still very fine.—Borghese Palace, Rome. Copy of the foregoing, ascribed to



possible to imitate this form of his master's art in a likeness of a naked turbaned lady which is now in the gallery of St. Petersburg. But where Raphael elevated the realism which he studied into something graceful, subtle, and finished, his disciple hardly succeeded in veiling a coarseness which it was not his fault, perhaps, that he could seldom paint without displaying.\*

Very different was Raphael's course in preparing the small panel of the "Vision of Ezechiel," now in the Pitti Gallery, for Count Vincenzo Ercolani, at Bologna, from that which he had found it necessary to pursue in painting the "St. Cecilia" for Cardinal Pucci. Whatever his motives may have been, he thought it consistent with his duty to do less for the distant patron than he had done for the prelate who was always at his elbows. He composed the design of the "Ezechiel," we should think, with his own hand. But the panel, we should also think, was executed by Giulio Romano. And thus, one of the grandest conceptions of Raphael's pencil, shaped on the double lines of the classic and Christian, was left to the

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Giulio Romano, but poorly done. —Palazzo Sciarra, Rome. Copy, feeblener than that of the Borghese Palace. Another copy is in the Museum of the Capitol, No. 150, at Rome.

\* Hermitage. St. Petersburg. No. 58. Canvas. M. 1'1 h. by 0'91. Knee-piece. 1682. In the collection of Princess Rossano at Rome, then in the Lambruschini

Collection at Florence, and lastly in the collection of Camillo Pamphili at Rome. This is a fine adaptation by Giulio Romano of Raphael's original, but it looks as if he had studied from life and painted the lady when she had grown older. She holds the cloth with her left, and with her right adjusts a veil in front of a mirror. The background is a palace.

tender mercies of a disciple who could imitate but not entirely replace his master.

In form the "Ezekiel" is as much a vision as the "Madonna di San Sisto." In both, the ether out of which the light radiates is crowded with the faint shapes of innumerable cherubs; the scene is the firmament, as we should look at it from our own planet. But in the composition of the "Ezekiel" there are elements of the antique which are not in the Sixtine "Madonna." The Eternal is modelled on the Jove of the Greeks, with a reminiscence of the same figure in the Chigi Chapel united to a method of distribution that seems adapted from the group of the Farnese Bull. He appears in the heavens, with outstretched arms, supported by seraphs. His look is stern and commanding as the angel kneeling in front of him to the left rests poised on his wings, and looks up in adoration; his frame reposes on the pinions of the eagle, his feet on those of the ox and lion, who roar, in token of submission. The whole group, suspended in air, is powerfully relieved against the halo of angels portentously encircled by rolling clouds. In the landscape below, Ezekiel appears as a pigmy to the right, looking up at the mighty apparition of the Eternal and Evangelists; a large oak rears its trunk and branches in a wilderness of shore and sea lashed by the waves;—a mysterious, irresistible force seems let loose in the picture. Its strength is enhanced by the broad projection of strong shadows and brightness concentrated in the Almighty, whose limbs are foreshortened, so as to display not only

their length, which is excessive, but their breadth, which appears especially marked in the sole of the left foot. Drapery of studied contour adds to the grandeur of the principal figure, which thus towers above the earth in majestic might. The colours define the parts brightly in the main group, they are toned to a dreamy depth in the air and distance. The execution is as bold as it well can be, and an attentive eye will discern shapes of cherubs struck out with the butt of the brush in the sky. But strong as the hand appears to have been, and amenable to correction under Raphael's supervision, as we observe in the final touches that bring out the flesh of the angels under the arms of the Eternal, there is that about it which betrays a technical execution less finished, a blending less subtle than Raphael's own. Something, in the brown tinge of flesh light and dark flush of shadows, tells us that Giulio, with all his cleverness and care, has remained just below his master. The limits within which we should think this little masterpiece was produced are marked by the Eternal in the mosaics of the Chigi Chapel on the one hand and the "Creation" of the Loggie on the other.\* Everything points

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\* *The Ezechiel*. At the Pitti Gallery in Florence. Wood. 18½ in. h. by 13½. This picture is described in Lamo's *Graticola*, p. 12. It is also described by Malvasia, *Felsina Pittrice*, i. p. 44. Malvasia says further that a payment of eight ducats was made to Raphael for it by a remittance at Rome. The date of this remittance he gives as

1510. But this is probably an error, as the picture was executed much later, as Vasari very correctly states (viii. p. 32). After the return of the spoils of the French wars in 1815, the picture was taken to the Pitti, where it now is. The panel is well preserved.

A copy, once belonging to Baroness Biella in Venice, of the

to the belief that Count Ercolano ordered the picture during Raphael's stay at Bologna, and received it after the "St. Cecilia" had been placed in San Giovanni in Monte. Chronologically it probably comes after the Christ on the road to Calvary, which Raphael executed for the church of Santa Maria dello Spasimo at Palermo, but which took the name of "Lo Spasimo" after it was bought by Philip IV. of Spain, and was hung above the high altar of the Royal Chapel.

No account has been handed down by historians, either of the commission or of the persons who were interested in its completion. Its execution is probably contemporary with that of Agostino Veneziano's plate, which reproduces the composition and bears the date of 1517. The picture was to have been taken by sea to its destination, but it was lost by the wreck of the ship in the Gulf of Genoa. The Genoese found it and for a time refused to give it up. But Leo X. was powerful enough to compel its surrender; and we are told that its splendour was only equalled by the veneration in which a divine work was held which had been respected by the combined fury of the tempest and waves. The only hint that appears in the pages of Vasari is contained in the few words in which he says that Raphael could not fail to execute the "Spasimo" as it was ordered by influential people,

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same size as the original, much changed by repainting and age, was considered by some judges to be an original replica, but it cannot be considered genuine. There

are two copies in the Baring and Buccleuch Collections, and one of fair preservation in the Belvedere at Vienna.

and there were private interests at work besides, which Raphael could not but respect and attend to.\* It was natural under these circumstances that the same result should have been attained as was realized in the "Madonna di San Sisto" and the "St. Cecilia," and that the master's touches should have finally covered and concealed all the preparations which were made by journeymen.

In the centre of the road leading from the gate of Jerusalem to Calvary—a track full of ruts and upheavals, Christ is seen stumbling under the burden of the cross which weighs pitilessly on his shoulders. With one knee in a rut, and one hand on the edge of the upheaval at its side, He struggles to rise on his right leg, supporting the cross beam with one hand and stiffening his left arm to avoid complete prostration; He turns his face in agony towards Mary, who kneels almost at his feet, and stretches out both her hands as if to give a help, which nature paralyzes. His noble features, of regular shape, are enframed by a short beard and copious locks, which flow luxuriantly down his neck from under the crown of thorns. Blood drops are trickling from the punctures of the briars over features aged by suffering, yet full of resignation and firmness. In this union of power and age lies the variety which distinguishes Raphael's latest ideal of the "Redeemer" from the earlier one of the "Entombment." It may be doubted whether he could have conceived or brought out such a combination in 1507.

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\* Vasari, viii. 37 and 38.

More realistic, the passion of Mary is still noble, her face is turned upwards, strongly foreshortened and convulsed with grief. Severity of mien is there, intensified by the nunlike fashion of the cloth which winds round the forehead and chin and the veil which covers the head. The weight of that garment and its suffocating effects are finely suggested by the action of the kneeling woman on the right, who divides her attention between the mother and her Son, by looking grieved at Him, and assisting her by lifting her veil. Over this magnificent group, the stooping girl, with her profile all but lost in drooping hair, tries to support the Virgin with a hand under her left armpit, whilst the Evangelist, with locks almost equally copious, bends his glance to the Saviour. Overlooking all these, a third woman, erect, wrings her hands and conveys in her eyes and gesture her sympathy and fears. But here it is not youth, grace, and beauty that principally compel our attention; not the shape set forth in the sculptural form of Michaelangelo in the "Entombment." Something more mature and more true to nature in the rendering of passion dramatically expressed after the fashion of the antique reveals the deeper study of Raphael's later years. And this, in spite of the recurrence of a long-forgotten habit, that of decorating the edges of dress with fine patterns and Greek ornaments.

Contrasted with all this display of helpless compassion, the strong purpose and action of Simon of Cyrene brings vigour and truth still more forcibly into the picture. His strength is great and exerted

to the utmost as he rises behind the cross and strives to raise it by grasping its vertical beam. Contrasted again, is the energy with which the coarse and truculent guard at Simon's shoulder poises his spear to strike at Christ, and the feelingless expenditure of force on the part of the executioner who strides in short hose and sleeveless jacket to the left, and holding the coil of rope in his left hand, strains at that part of it which runs across his shoulder and is fast to the Redeemer's waist. In this figure the same shapes recur, that we saw in the soldier who prepares to strike the child in Raphael's "Judgment of Solomon," a vulgarized type of the horse-tamer of Montecavallo with some additional brutality impressed on his features.

Towering in front of the procession as it turns in the picture towards the place of execution, an armed lieutenant rides with the banner of Rome unfurled; and a soldier with lance and shield behind Simon repeats the order to move on given by the captain in armour, who issues out of the gate with the high priest and a following of soldiers. The track to Golgotha runs first from the gate to the foreground, where it turns at right angles, into the valley fronting the spectator where, between trees that here and there cover the sky, the hills show their spurs jutting out into the bottom. On one of the windings men on foot and horseback are driving the thieves to Calvary, which is indicated on a height by a pillar and old crosses. As a landscape this view of Golgotha is one of the finest creations of Raphael's

brush, grander in lines than the distance of the "Entombment," and admirably thought out to indicate the point to which the procession is tending. We see at once an act of awful import in the foreground, and the preparations for the final tragedy far away against the sky. It is scarcely necessary to dwell on the qualities of design, modelling, expression, chiaroscuro, drapery; all are excellent, and the manipulation, of unusual breadth, is the boldest that we know of in Raphael's practice. The colour must have been at one time equal to the treatment in force. It is now deprived of some charm, by the starting of the panels, the abrasion of some parts, the retouching of others, and the unequal cleaning of the whole. Such bits as remain unimpaired show richness of tint and great brilliancy. And the background especially is surprising for its freshness. Raphael doubtless had the panel prepared by his assistants, but he went over the whole of it with his own brush, and so completed the cycle of masterpieces which he was called upon to treat with that exceptional mastery which critics of Raphael's time knew how to value, better perhaps than Raphael's admirers in our day.\*

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\* The "Spasimo." Madrid Museum. No. 366. Wood transferred to canvas. 9 ft. 11 h. by 7 ft. 2. On a stone in the foreground we read: RAPHAELO VRBINAS.

Before the transfer to canvas, which took place in Paris, there were five vertical splits in the

panel. The marks of these splits are still visible: 1, down the frame of Mary; 2, obliquely down the figures of the high priest, and the woman in front of him; 3, along the back of the head of Simon, and past that into the landscape and sky; 4, down the arm of Simon, and the body of the



Saviour ; 5, across the arm of the soldier holding the banner, the head of the assistant striking with his lance, the head of the Saviour, and the right leg of the man with the rope. Many abrasions are covered with corresponding retouches. Other parts are unequally cleaned, and the picture is thus thrown out of harmony. The most faded parts are the sky and gate. The tunic of Christ has changed to black. Philip IV. of Spain purchased the picture at Palermo in 1662, and gave the monastery in return important privileges. (See the document dated April 22, 1662, in Gioacchino di Marzo's "Delle Belle Arti in Sicilia," 4to, Palermo, 1862, iii. p. 329.) The French carried the picture to Paris in 1813. In 1822 it was restored to its present place. The drawing of the Virgin and the woman to her right, with a special study of the drapery for

the latter, and part of the drapery of the woman to Mary's left, is preserved at the Uffizi, No. 1,  $10\frac{1}{12}$  in. h. by  $15\frac{1}{4}$ . The drawing is in red chalk, and much worn and patched. On the back of the sheet is the woman wringing her hands, and the executioners. Two riders, in black and red chalk, in the Albertina, are supposed to have been copied by Raphael from papal guards, and adapted in the "Spasimo." Both wear caps, and are in 16th century dress— $10\frac{5}{12}$  in. h. by  $7\frac{1}{12}$ . Of the numerous copies from the picture it is hardly necessary to cite more than a few :—One in San Francesco of Catania by Vigneri (1541), reversed from the original ; another, with varieties, at Blaise Castle, the seat of Mr. Harford ; a third in the Belvedere at Vienna ; and a fourth, according to Passavant, by Juan Carreño (1614–85), in the Academy at Madrid.

## CHAPTER VII.

Raphael and the agents of the Duke of Ferrara.—Pictures of St. Michael and the Holy Family commissioned by the Medici as presents to the King and Queen of France.—Portrait of Lorenzo de' Medici.—Completion of the French pictures.—Criticisms of Sebastian del Piombo upon them.—Recapitulation of Raphael's various duties at this time.—The cartoon of St. Michael sent to the Duke of Ferrara.—Cardinal Bibiena orders the portrait of Giovanna of Arragon, which Raphael executes and sends to Paris, whilst he gives the cartoon to the Duke of Ferrara.—The "Violin Player."—Portrait of Leo X. with Cardinals de' Medici and Rossi.—Likeness of a cardinal at Madrid.—Raphael completes the Loggia of the Farnesina.—The fable of Psyche; the master's share in its illustration, and that of Giulio Romano and other assistants.—Frescos of the Vatican Loggie.—Giulio Romano, Penni, Giovanni da Udine, Perino del Vaga.—Bologna—Vincidor, Polidoro da Caravaggio, Pellegrino da Modena, and Tamagni.—Architectural features of the Loggie, comparison with Michaelangelo.—Description of the frescos, and opinions as to those who executed them.

IN the summer and autumn of 1517, Raphael's constant excuse, when pressed by the agents of the Duke of Ferrara, had been his duty to Francis I., Leo X., and the palatine cardinals. The lion's share of the work actually done had fallen to those who were most importunate or most influential. A picture of St. Michael, which was meant to propitiate Francis I., and a "Holy Family," reserved for the French queen, had been persistently neglected.

Late in 1517 Goro Gheri, who governed Florence in the absence of Lorenzo de' Medici, asked his chief at

Rome whether he would allow his profile to be taken by Raphael for a die.\* Not only did this commission lead to the draft of a design for the die—it also led to the painting of Lorenzo's portrait. On the 4th and 5th of February, 1518, Lorenzo de' Medici received intelligence from Rome that Raphael had completed the likeness. Its despatch to Florence was noted in the correspondence of the time.† During the troubles of a subsequent period it was transferred with other masterpieces to the Florentine palace of Ottaviano de' Medici, where it first fell into decay, and was then allowed to perish.‡ From a photograph of a picture which came, some years since, into the hands of Mr. Hollingworth Magniac, at Colworth, it would appear that the original was taken in winter. It represented the Duke in the usual three-quarter position, looking out of the canvas, holding a jewel in his right, and resting his left hand on his hip. The eyes were dark and almond-shaped, the nose aquiline and long, the upper lip fringed with a slight moustache, and the chin covered with a short downy beard. A rich growth of dark hair, shorn straight across the forehead, overhung the ears and fell from a wide black toque adorned with a medal; a low-breasted muslin shirt rose to the pit of the throat from a damasked vest; and a white skirt was gathered under a belt, which supported a dagger. A gorgeous pelisse of plait-stuff, with puffs gathered at intervals under bands

\* Florence. Nov. 6, 1517.  
Gheri to Lorenzo de' Medici, at  
Rome. Gaye, Carteg., ii. 145.

† Gaye, Carteggio, u. 2., ii.  
145-6.

‡ Vas., viii. p. 34.

of fur similar to the collar, made up a splendid and lordly dress which, combined with a handsome face in strong light, produced a grand and imposing effect. No opinion can be formed as to the technical handling of a picture historically so interesting. Nor, indeed, is there a replica that preserves, at first-hand, the likeness of a prince who threatened to imitate the deeds of Cesar Borgia, in the reign of Leo X.\*

The concentrated energy which Raphael directed to this and other commissions is apparent from a letter of the 1st of March, 1518, in which Costabili told the Duke of Ferrara that Raphael begged his Excellency not to take it ill if he did not deliver a picture at Easter, the Pope and Lorenzo de' Medici having kept him so busy with portraits and designs that he could not give his attention to anything else. The same excuses recurred in letters written by the Ferrarese

\* *Lorenzo de' Medici.* The portraits above mentioned enabled us to conjecture that one of the principal figures in the "Oath of Leo" at the Vatican might be Lorenzo.

The picture at Colworth has not been seen by the authors. From the photograph it would seem that the face is seen at three-quarters to the left, and with the light from the left; the treatment Lionardesque. A copy at Montpellier museum (No. 369, panel, 0·98 h. by 0·74) is painted on a green ground, the doublet is golden damask, the pelisse dark red, the toque black. It was in a villa at Sienna till 1824. In 1826, it was bought by

Mr. Fabre, the original owner of the Montpellier Collection. The treatment and dark shading might betray a follower of Cristoforo Allori.

The Florentine example showing the figure to the knees, better painted than that of Montpellier, is also on panel. It hangs in the passage between the Pitti and Uffizi, and is Florentine in style. The only historical notice of a copy of Raphael's portrait of Lorenzo de' Medici is that which appears in Vasari's *Lives*, where he says (xi. p. 203) that Aristotile da San Gallo made such a copy from Raphael's original.

agent in March and April. On the 27th of May Costabili reported that Raphael had furnished the "St. Michael" and a "Virgin and Child," with four other figures of beautiful shape, for the queen.\*

More precise dates in respect of these pieces are noted in the correspondence of Lorenzo de' Medici, whose aim at this time was to propitiate the French king. Cardinal Bibiena, who had been appointed legate to France in March, was to prepare the way for Lorenzo's visit to the French court, which took place at the end of May.† Goro Gheri, in consequence, wrote frequent letters to press for the completion of Raphael's work.‡ On the 15th of April, he communicated the Duke's satisfaction at hearing "that the 'St. Michael' and the 'Holy Family' were rapidly progressing."‡ The news came before the 8th of May that the pictures were finished. Orders were sent for their despatch to Florence, where they arrived on the 3rd of June. On the 19th they were forwarded to Lyons, and Lorenzo was enabled to appear before Francis and his queen as the bearer of a noble present.

The two panels were transported to the palace of Fontainebleau, where they remained. St. Michael is represented in scale armour. His limbs are almost bare, but he wears a short skirt and cothurnus. His wings are gorgeously tinted, and a scarf, encircling

\* Campori, Notiz. Ined. di R. da U., *u. s.*, p. 9.

† Paris de Grassis, *Diarium, u. s.*, iii. 680.

‡ Florence, April 11, 1518. Gheri to Turini. Same to same, Flor., April 15, 1518. Gaye, Cart. ii. 145-6.

his shoulders and waist, flies in circlets in the wind. The sword belted to his waist is not his fighting weapon. He raises a lance with both hands, and poises himself with his right foot on the shoulder of his writhing foe. Satan grovels and presents his shoulders and the crown of his head to view. He looks up with staring eye-balls, and strives to rise on his left claw, whilst his right grasps a hooked fork. His powers of motion are indicated by bat-like wings, his strength by horns and talons, his wile by a serpent's tail. Muscular shape contrasts with elegant outline in the archangel, and the grand balance of the contours is shown effectively in a landscape which represents the summit of a peak, out of which flames are bursting, whilst the country behind is parted with hills, rich in verdure and trees.

The face of the saint is as regular and serene as that of Satan is rugged and impassioned. Crisp locks fly in the breeze, giving the figure, with its wings and scarf, the aspect of an avenging spirit just descended from heaven. It may be difficult now to follow the master's touch, yet the composition and final strokes are probably Raphael's work, whilst Satan seems painted by Giulio Romano. In his youth Raphael had designed St. Michael in the simple style which characterized his art at the time. The same theme, at the period of his manhood, reveals a more expanded practice and a new set of forms. The grace of the earlier panel is perhaps more attractive than the studied artifice of the later

one. But the subtlety with which the group was ponderated in 1518 is sufficient evidence of consummate skill and great experience.\*

The "Holy Family" of 1518 equally manifests the maturity of Raphael's power in the large and imposing scale of figures amply clad in rich attire. A floor of coloured marble, a cradle of carved stone, and hangings about the bed, are natural accompaniments of palatial architecture. The Infant Christ springs from the white cushion on which he has been lying, to the arms of Mary, who raises one knee from the ground and receives her son in her arms. Behind the Virgin, St. Joseph rests his elbow on the bed and his face on his hand, a fine rendering of ripe age and grand drapery. To the left St. Elisabeth, in hood

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\* *St. Michael*. Louvre. No. 370. 2·68 h. by 1·60. Wood transferred to canvas. Signed in the skirt of the dress, RAPHAELVRBINAS PINGEBAT, MDXVIII. The turn of the figure is so that the lance is poised to the left, the wings to the right. Louis XIV. had this picture placed over his throne. It was protected there by two shutters lined with green velvet, ornamented with gold. Primaticcio restored it in 1537-40 (De Laborde, *Renaissance des Arts*, i. p. 399). In 1685 it was again restored by the painter Guélin, and in 1753 transferred to canvas by Picault. Twice since then the canvas was renewed, by Haquin in 1776, by Picault junior in 1800. The foreground and figure of Satan are very much in-

jured, and the foot of St. Michael on the shoulder of Satan is entirely new. The best part of the picture now is the distance. A rough sepia drawing at the Louvre, representing the subject in a modified form, no longer claims to be a genuine Raphael. A worn copy-sketch from the original picture is in the Ambrosiana at Milan.

Copies of the picture in the original size also exist. One of them was till lately No. 1117 at Schleissheim, under the false name of Giulio Romano, another in the Belvedere at Vienna, a third was in the Hope Collection in London, a fourth in the Aguado gallery, a fifth in St. Germain des Prés, a sixth by Mignard in St. Sulpice in Paris.

and mantle, stoops over the boy John, whose hands she busily joins in prayer. An angel kneeling between her and the Virgin looks up approvingly at a sprightly companion, who moves his pinions and, with outstretched arms, prepares to drop a spray of flowers on the Infant Saviour's head. Christ smiles joyously at his mother. She welcomes him with fondness. Devotion and obedience are exemplified in the Baptist, maternal love in the Virgin, grave and supernatural thought in St. Joseph. The angel with the flowers, a truly Raphaelic type, embodies a pretty incident illustrated in a graceful shape in one of Raphael's earliest sketches at Venice. The time had come at last when that first impression might serve a distinct pictorial purpose. It was used with extraordinary felicity in the "Holy Family" and the ceiling of the Farnesina. But whilst the original sketch lay unused in the master's store, his style had become masculine and strong under the influence of the antique and the great art of the revival, and he gave a new element of power to the lithe being whom he had first created in an airy Umbrian aspect. In unison with this change, the shape of the Madonna, revived from that of the Canigiani altar-piece, was formed in a larger mould and adorned with veils and trimmings of greater splendour; and the tunic and draped sleeves, half hidden by the mantle, were cast in monumental folds to show the elegant finish of the hands and sandalled foot. Joseph, so kindly and benevolent in earlier works, became a thoughtful saintly figure of marked and striking build, with all



the vigour peculiar to Michaelangelo and the calm of Lionardo. If here and there the weight of the shapes appears too marked, the sweeping outline too hard, the colour too leaden or too strong, and the shadows too dark, the fault was due to Giulio Romano, who gave much more help in the "Holy Family" than he had done in the "St. Michael."\*

The fact that the master was more than ever imbued with the spirit of Lionardo would seem appropriate in a piece which was to be seen and admired by Francis I. There was an irrepressible tendency in Raphael, just then, to cultivate Da Vinci's style, and this was jealously observed by Sebastian del Piombo, who wrote to Michaelangelo in his usual rancorous style, deriding the "St. Michael," and railing at Raphael, whilst he boasted of his own superiority and greater honesty. The letter in which these sentiments are expressed is so characteristic, it so clearly shows the feeling of enmity with which Raphael's success, in a worldly sense, was canvassed in 1518, that it deserves attention.

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\* *Holy Family*. Louvre. No. 364. Wood transferred to canvas. 2·07 h. by 1·40. Signed on the border of the mantle at the Virgin's foot, RAPHAEL VRBINAS PINGEBAT, CIO.D.XVIII. From Fontainebleau the picture was first transferred to Versailles. It was restored by Primaticcio in 1537-40, and subsequently taken off panel, undergoing much the same treatment as the St. Michael (De Laborde, *u. s.*, Renaissance, i. p. 399). Numerous

copies of this "Holy Family" have been in the market at various periods. One by Mignard was sold in London in 1832, a second belonging to Mr. Woodburn about the same period. Raphael del Colle copied it in a fresco in the church of Corpus Domini at Castel Durante (Urbania); but time has injured and restorers have repainted, the Infant Christ, part of St. John, and Elisabeth and Mary, and the rest is more or less faded.

“I have explained to Lionardo the reasons which caused my delay in finishing my work.”

This was an allusion to the picture of Lazarus, which had been ordered by Giulio de' Medici as a pendant to Raphael's “Transfiguration:” “I have delayed because I do not wish Raphael to see my picture until he has finished his own. The cardinal approves, and Raphael as yet has not begun.”

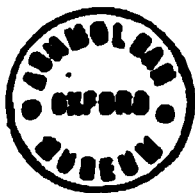
Then, referring to Raphael's commissions for Francis I:—“I am sorry that you should not have been in Rome to see two pictures that have been sent to France. They are by the Prince of the Synagogue (Raphael), and in a style altogether contrary to your ideas. They contain figures that look as if they had been smoked—figures that seem to be made of shining steel—all light and dark. But they have beautiful frames.”

Then, passing to Raphael's private character:—“Try and persuade Messer Domenico to have the picture” (the “Lazarus”) “gilt in Rome, and gilt by myself, because I want to point out to the cardinal that Raphael robs the Pope of three ducats a day for wages and gilding.”\*

Sebastian's “Raising of Lazarus” is a masterpiece, yet Del Piombo could not equal Raphael, whose “Transfiguration,” when it appeared, was adjudged the better picture. The charge of dishonesty was probably not made public. The verdict on the “St. Michael” and “Holy Family” is to some extent just. But the faults

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\* Sebastian del Piombo to | July 2, 1518, in Gotti's M. A.,  
Michaelangelo at Florence, Rome, | Appendix, pp. 56-7.



which Sebastian pointed out must be laid to Giulio Romano's account; and they only show how much better Raphael would have done, if instead of trusting to deputies he had executed the "Holy Family" with his own hands. We notice in Paris and Florence the originals of Raphael's designs for the Virgin and Child and the Infant Christ of the Louvre "Holy Family." They are finished and careful beyond anything that the master had ever done before, without a line of drapery, a depression of cloth, or a particle of modelling left to the discretion of assistants.\*

Free from the duty of attending to the Pope's French commissions, Raphael might have yielded all the more readily to the wishes of the Duke of

\* *Holy Family*, 1518. Paris Louvre. No. 317. 0·173 h. by 0·119. This is the first study from the model of the Virgin Mary, with bare arms and legs, and a mere rudiment of the Child in red chalk.

Florence. Uffizi. No. 535. Red chalk. 12 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. h. by 8. This drawing gives the whole figure of the Virgin and an outline of the Infant Saviour as taken from the model, in the same lie as the picture. The foot of the Virgin is bare, the arm undraped, the head untrimmed. The Child springs from the ground. His hands reach higher than in the picture, and the drapery on the floor is differently arranged. In the upper (right) corner of the sheet there is a separate study for the Virgin's tunic

and sleeve. The whole of the work is minutely and beautifully finished, as if Raphael knew that he must be careful to furnish every line to his disciple for the purpose of forming the cartoon. Similar in execution is the second drawing at Florence, viz. :—

Florence. Uffizi. No. 534. The Infant Christ alone, in red chalk, with the left hand and arm of the Virgin Mary, exactly corresponding with the figure in the picture.

A copy of the Florentine study for the Child was sold at the sale of King William of Holland in 1850, for 195 florins. A cartoon fragment of the head and bust of St. Joseph is said to have been in possession of the late Baron de Triqueti.

Ferrara, who still pressed for his picture, but that he was still encumbered with orders brooking little delay. A mere recapitulation of the various labours to which he was constrained will give an idea of the obligations which he had contracted.

Since the beginning of autumn, 1517, he had begun superintending the Loggie of the Vatican. He had undertaken the decoration of the Farnesina for Agostino Chigi. He painted the "Violin Player," and Giovanna of Arragon, and commenced the portrait of Leo X., while he promised the "Transfiguration" to Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, and brought to completion, by means of his disciples, the "Madonna of the Pearl," the "Virgin under the Oak," and other altar pictures now at Madrid. Besides all this, he carried on the building of St. Peter, and prosecuted the search for old remains in the ruins of Rome.

In the summer of 1518, Costabili, whose relations with Raphael had always been friendly, was unable to do more than excuse the master for not having produced anything for the Duke of Ferrara. "I constantly remind Raphael of your Excellency's picture. But Bramante's office, painting, architecture, and the charge of things pertaining to these, which the Pope imposes, prevent my speaking to him. I have written, and he replies that he has begun your Excellency's canvas." \*

Raphael meanwhile had offered to send the Duke

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\* Costabili to Alphonzo d' Este, Rome, Aug. 13, 1518, in Campori, *Not. Ined.*, u. s., p. 11.

his cartoon of "St. Michael;" and the Bishop of Adria had only withheld his acceptance because he feared that Raphael might consider it a set-off for the fifty ducats which he had received some time before. Towards the close of September the offer was renewed by letter, with a request to the bishop to take delivery of the cartoon. Upon this Costabili sent a message to say he would come to Raphael's rooms. Raphael forestalled him, and said that he had never considered the "St. Michael" as an equivalent for the picture. The cartoon was then accepted, and paid on its arrival at Ferrara by a remittance of twenty-five scudi. Raphael would have been better pleased to receive no remuneration. He had again seen the bishop at his palace in November, and urged his intention to make a present to the Duke. In the end he took the money, and promised to complete his commission "in a few months."\*

About the same period, Cardinal Bibiena, desirous of ingratiating himself with Francis I., had engaged Raphael in a private enterprise of his own. He was a judge of female beauty, and, it would seem, had had information of the approaching nuptials of a lovely girl, to Ascanio Colonna—then Constable of Naples. Giovanna of Arragon was hardly sixteen, when she was wooed and won. The ceremony of betrothal was fixed to take place at Naples in November, 1518, on the understanding that the marriage should be consummated two years later. It

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\* Same to same, Rome, Sep. 22 and 28, and Nov. 11 and 20, 1518, in Campori, *u. s.*, pp. 12 and 13.

is not known whether Raphael ever saw the lady. When asked by the Cardinal to paint her likeness, he was told to send one of his *garzoni* to Naples to portray her; and he did so. Early in November Alphonzo went to Paris on political business, and there he found that the Legate had received the picture and given it to the king. He knew from experience how difficult it would be to obtain a replica, yet he wished to possess the semblance of a face which was considered to represent the finest woman in the world. He wrote therefore to his secretary at Ferrara to ask Costabili whether Raphael would give the cartoon. Raphael was not unwilling. But he begged the Duke to remark that he was not offering a work of his own; that, by the Legate's order, he had sent one of his journeymen to Naples to take sittings from the lady; and it was that person's design, which he begged the Duke to accept. If however, Alphonzo wished for a copy in oil, it should be done for him.\*

Vasari, who never saw the original, says Raphael painted the head of Giovanna from nature, and Giulio Romano did the rest.† Raphael himself denies that the cartoon was his. Can it be that he had seen Giovanna, and that Giulio's outline enabled him to work from an earlier impression made on his own

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\* A Gruyer. Notice in *Gaz. des Beaux Arts*, 1880, p. 476. Alphonzo to Secretary Remo, Paris, Dec. 28, 1518; Costabili to Remo, Rome, Feb. 1, 1519; and

Costabili to Alphonzo, Rome, Feb. 20, 1519, in Campori, *Not. Ined.*, u. s., p. 14.

† Vas., x. p. 89.

mind? Assuredly, when we look at the picture at the Louvre, and examine the charming features, beaming with youth and beauty, all rounded and shaded in the spirit of Da Vinci, we feel inclined to admit that Raphael may have given finishing touches to that damask cheek, that clear blue eye, and fine-cut nose, and those delicate pursed lips; we fancy that he must have drawn the pure curves of those brows and cheeks enframed in long auburn hair, and at least sketched the graceful attitude of the girl so nobly seated in her chair of State; yet there is some uniformity in the treatment which might justify a doubt. The dress is splendid, including the round hat of crimson velvet adorned with jewels and pearls, the gauze frill and sleeves, bracelets, furs, and looped red sur-sleeves. The room is part of a palace with a vaulted approach closed by a peristyle through which a garden is seen, surveyed by a female attendant. If Raphael did nothing but give his name to so noble a picture, it would entitle Giulio Romano to this praise, that he never painted a face so much in his master's style, a face which, in spite of some deficiencies, is infinitely superior in drawing to the hand which plays with the pelisse to the left, or the hand which lies quiescent on the red skirt to the right; parts that are so ill drawn, and superficially coloured, that they reveal the pencil of one of Giulio's mates.\*

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\* *Giovanna of Arragon*. Louvre. No. 373. Wood, transferred to canvas. 1.20 h. by 0.95. This picture, like the two preceding, was at Fontainebleau, where it was

restored by Primaticcio about 1540. Of the numerous copies which Brantôme mentions, several are known.

Lütschena, near Leipzig. Speck

Raphael must be excused if, under these circumstances, he furnished a better portrait of the violin player and Leo X. than of Giovanna of Arragon. But there were other reasons for the superiority which he manifested in those masterpieces, and the variety of style which distinguished them. In painting Leo X. and his cardinals, it might be necessary to keep rigidly to the semblance of the pontiff, and produce something like, yet in unison with, the idea of the sitter's exalted station. The "Violin Player" would allow of a different treatment, allow of showing, if it should be required, that such a rival as Sebastian del Piombo might justly claim the position of a great master of portrait, yet be proved inferior to Raphael in the very walk for which he enjoyed repute. Raphael could not but know that Sebastian had been slandering him at Rome. Since the days of painful notoriety in which Agostino Chigi had transferred his patronage from one artist to the other, the great Venetian had never left an opportunity untried to

Sternburg Coll. Canvas. 1.32 h. by 1.11. This is a fine copy, apparently by a Fleming, and was bought from the Fries Collection at Vienna.

Warwick Castle. Canvas. 45 in. h. by 38. No. 158 at Manchester and 280 in the Academy exhibition of Old Masters in 1871. The draperies are not so hard as those of the Louvre example. The background very dim, the contour lost.

Rome. Doria Palace. Wood.

Raw and ruddy in tone and light in flesh shadow. Who could have given to this copy the name of Lionardo, but some one who recognized the Lionardesque spirit so conspicuous in the original? The painter might be Fasolo or some Transalpine imitator of Da Vinci.

Berlin. Mus. No. 231. Canvas. From the Solly Collection ascribed to Sassoferrato. 1.19 h. by 0.87.

Munich. Pinakothek. No longer exhibited.



abuse Raphael's work. Persons who knew Sebastian's intimacy with Michaelangelo had proclaimed at every street corner that Raphael's work was more in the spirit of painting than that of Buonarrotti, that it was richer in colour, more fanciful in composition, more charming in air. Michaelangelo, they argued, might be perfect in design, but he had none of the other qualities which distinguished his competitor. Raphael was therefore equal to Buonarrotti as a painter, and certainly above him as a colourist.\* Roused by these criticisms Sebastian had resolved that he should draw like Michaelangelo and colour like Raphael; and meanwhile, when such compositions as the "St. Michael" and "Holy Family" were exhibited, he grew loud in his denunciation of their smoky aspect and metallic contrasts.

What wonder if Raphael playfully seized the opportunity to prove to his friends that he could take Sebastian's manner at its best and produce something in the same form that would show his superiority. A practical test of this kind would, he might think, be eminently satisfactory, when both artists were under contract to the same prelate for altar-pieces, which neither would finish lest his adversary should be forced to a premature display. It may be too much to assert that this was the course which matters took, but certainly the "Violin Player" of the Sciarra Collection looks like a practical retort to Sebastian's invective in his letter to Michaelangelo.

The "Violin Player" differs from the "Leo" in all

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\* Vas., x. p. 123.

the elements of realism which are conspicuous in that picture. It is an idealized likeness of a handsome young man, in a rich and becoming dress, one who seems to have enjoyed celebrity as a musical performer, and whose vocation is revealed by the bow which he holds somewhat stiffly in a spray of leaves and blue flowers. The lie and the shape of the hand has indeed a look of premeditation which impairs in some measure the grace of an elegant figure. Long brown hair, without curl, falls from a central parting along both sides of the face to the shoulders with that cultivated abundance which romantic artists affect. A soft felt hat, of picturesque outline, jauntily covers the head, but gives prominence to it by leaving unconcealed a fair, unwrinkled forehead, faultless brows above chestnut-tinted eyes, a regular nose, chiselled lips and rounded chin, an oval face of pure contour firmly set on a powerful neck, looking out at the spectator, though arm and shoulder are seen in profile and almost from behind. We can guess that the right hand is lying on the projection upon which the left reposes. The parapet is of stone, cut out like that in Sebastian's portrait of Aretino, and furnished with the ciphers of MDXVIII. engraved on its surface. We see what success this young fellow must have had in the practice of his art, in the richness of his green dress with its professional fall, its dark velvet stripes and ample sleeves, and the collar of yellow sable which covers the back and shoulders. Nothing in the picture but indicates ease, the straight and elastic shape, the soft hair and the sparkling eye;

and if this were so in the flesh, how well it appeared condensed in the panel! The painter cared little, it would seem, to apply those severe laws which are so conspicuous in the "Leo" if he could only display the beauty, the youth, and the grace of a man in his own sphere. Free from the fetters that might impose a judicious discrimination between the superior air of the Pope and the dignified subserviency of cardinals, he was free to throw all his power into that one face, as had been done in years long past in the Raphael or the Bindo Altoviti of Florence. The right side of the face was made to lose itself in gloom, and the chief light was thrown on the cheek and temple. But not the less was pictorial skill exhausted in expression, design, and modelling, whilst delicate gradations of tone and warm tinting were combined in the opal keys of Sebastian with the system of thin glazings peculiar to Da Vinci.

Significant beyond doubt, we must think, are two things in the portrait of the violin player, the date and the manner. Both would tend to prove that whilst the Venetian was abusing his rival, Raphael was entering into Sebastian's ways, and beating him. It was after this that Sebastian painted bust-portraits, which, like one at Blenheim, obtained the name of Raphael,\* demonstrating that the style of a great painter might be imitated but not equalled.

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\* *The Violin Player*. It may be necessary to say that the face is seen at three-quarters to the right. For some years this picture has been

withdrawn from the public to the private rooms of the Sciarra palace, and rumours have been heard that it had left Rome, where it was so

Vasari seems to have been unacquainted with the "Violin Player;" but he was familiar with the "Leo," which he knew as an heirloom of the Medici before it came into the Pitti palace at Florence. He describes with enthusiasm "the Pope, Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, and Cardinal de' Rossi,—not painted but in relief; the velvets that show their cut, or damasks that display their lustre, fur of which you may count the hairs, and silk or gold so counterfeited that they seem not coloured but real;—a breviary too with illuminations more lively than the life; a chased silver bell, none can say how beautiful, a chair with a ball of burnished gold, in which the lights of the windows, the shoulders of the Pope, and the archings of the room are reflected;—and all these things done with such skill that no other master could equal them." \* Vasari thus adequately conveys the impression which the picture still produces. It is a mere omission on his part when he neglects to say that hardly a touch on the panel tells of any but the master's own handling.

long exhibited. Passavant says, that in 1835, it was in perfect preservation (ii. 275). When last seen by the authors, in 1876, it had suffered from a crack in the panel running down from the edge of the cap through the green sleeve to the projection of the parapet bearing the date. It had also been cleaned and stippled over with liquid point-touches, and the date was repainted. Most injured by these processes was the half tint on the temple and the hand. The fur was still admirable. The

background is of a leaden grey tone.

One of the best copies of the "Violin Player" is in the Corsini Palace at Florence. No. 105. Canvas. M. 0·74 h. by 0·63, with the same date as the original. Another copy was long preserved in the Museum of the ex-convent of Santa Trinità, at Madrid. A third, belonging to Lady Cranshaws, was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1878. It was not free from restoring.

\* Vas., viii. pp. 33-4.

The chair of state, and the table with a red cloth in front of it, are so placed that the Pope seems turned in the direction of Giulio, who stands next him to the left, and away from De' Rossi, who waits in rear to the right. His head is presented so that Leo appears to be granting an audience, and the person thus honoured is opposite Giulio and exposed to the light, whilst the Pope enjoys the faculty of looking at him with a massive shadow on his own forehead and cheek. By keeping the grey space of the chamber with its pillars and archings in a subdued tone, the painter gives Leo a surprising prominence, and the round nose, the white of the glistening eye, the pinguid mass of the flesh beneath it, and the short bull neck, all equally project in the flanking rays which play on the red silk cape and its lining of ermine. By fine gradations the light passes to the skirt and —damasked sleeves of the pelisse and the velvet skull cap edged with white fur which nearly reaches the brows. That this is a grand image of a celebrated Pope, worthily delineated by the greatest painter of his time, nobody can deny; as a portrait it holds the same rank amongst Raphael's artistic productions as the "Sixtine Madonna" in the order of his sacred compositions. It is the best thing of its kind that Raphael did,—truth itself, if compared with nature,—yet not realistic in the mere sense of faithful rendering, as in Van Eyck, Antonello, or Holbein, though combined with a realism which none have ever surpassed. The large simplicity of Masaccio, the elevation and dignity of Ghirlandaio, and the subtlety of Lionardo

are conspicuous ; and what a subject to show them on ! The chief sitter was a pontiff, whose features were all singular, from the round, projecting, near-sighted, blood-shot eye, that saw nothing closely without a magnifying glass, to the bloated nose, and cheek and chin, lips beyond the common size, and a girth portentous in a churchman. And yet all these features combined make up something noble, and expressive of life and power. They show a man with a penetrant spirit, good-natured but irascible, smooth but possibly cruel. We must recollect that Leo sat to Raphael in 1518, after the execution of Cardinal Petrucci, who had conspired against his life. There his nature had come out with alternations of kindness, craft, and cruelty. De' Rossi, who had been raised to the purple after the discovery of the conspiracy, only enjoyed it till the summer of 1519. Giulio had witnessed the scenes of those terrible days in the papal council, had heard Bembo read the sentence on Petrucci, and might then have looked as grave and calm as he now came, with his large eyelids, low forehead, brush of hair, and nose of strong projection, on to Raphael's panel. If Leo looks attentive but inquiring, and Giulio calm at the pontiff's right shoulder, De' Rossi on the other side seems busy with thoughts of less depth or meaning. Like his fellow-cardinal, he wears red and white robes and a skull cap ; but whilst Giulio's hair is shorn across the forehead so as to leave but an edge of forehead above his eyebrows, Rossi's locks are brushed upwards, or partly cover his ears, and his two hands are shown clinging to the upright or horizontal parts of the back of the Pope's chair.

In the "Violin Player" we saw a shape that reminded us of earlier Raphaelic portraits, such as the painter's own, at Florence, or the Bindo Altoviti at Munich. The "Leo" is a ripe fruit of the class in which we already found the Bibiena and Inghirami of the Florentine collection. But Raphael, having three persons to represent, composed a picture in which he made the pontiff supreme, and the cardinals subordinate, not merely in position, but by judiciously toning and concentrating finish and light and shade on the central figure. Nothing so delicate or searching as the turns and curves of the flesh, indicated by changing tints; nothing so minute as the marking of the features, the wrinkles, the humours in the eyes, and the stubble of a fresh-shaved beard. One fat hand on the vellum of the book, another on the table holding the magnifying glass, are marvels of finish, as indeed are the velvets and quilted stuff, or the metal ball of which Vasari says so much. Seen closely, these things appear as they were done, light, delicate, and minutely detailed. Further off they look like life, but life harmoniously toned, full of colour and relief. What magic must have dwelt in this wonderful piece when it was first done, since the cleaning of the cloth, and the repainting of fragments of the hands, hardly now impair its beauties. Can we be surprised that Andrea del Sarto should have been inspired when he executed so fine a copy as that which now adorns the Naples gallery? \*

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\* *Leo X.* Pitti Gallery. No. 63. Wood. Two Tuscan braccie. | 13.8.4 h. by 2.1.0 (m. 1.55' h. by 1.19'). The panel may

There is but one other portrait of the time which comes anywhere near this of Leo and his secretaries ; it is the likeness of a young prelate in a red barret and watered silk cape, at Madrid, which was long thought to represent Cardinal Bibiena, but of which the fine-cut features differ greatly from those of the real Bibiena at the Pitti. Amongst the differences which distinguish the two examples, one of the most important is that of age. The Cardinal at Madrid is young, with a sparkling blue eye, a finely cut nose, and regular brows, nearly touched by the chestnut hair combed over the forehead. The age of this prelate cannot exceed thirty-five ; Bibiena at the Pitti is ten years older, hairless, and without the noblesse of his colleague. But another point deserving of consideration is the style of the painting, which is much later in the Spanish than the Florentine example. If in the "Leo" we see the features suffused with shadow, the very converse is apparent at Madrid, where the light illumines brightly those very parts that are dark

be described as fairly preserved. The hands and sleeve of De' Rossi alone betray the help of Giulio Romano. It shows slight retouching in the hands of the Pope and the red lights of the cape. The red table-cloth has lost some brightness by cleaning. The only valuable replica of the picture, No. 21 in the Raphael Saloon at Naples, has been described minutely in another place as a copy by Andrea del Sarto, and though some persons still contest

this point, it must be distinctly maintained, notwithstanding the new documentary evidence adduced by Carlo d'Arco and V. Braghirolli in Part 2, tome viii. of 3rd Series of the Archivio Storico for 1868, pp. 175—193. Vasari's copy, noticed in his Autobiography (Vas., i. p. 13) as having been executed in 1537, is probably that which was purchased by the historian W. Roscoe, and sold by him to J. W. Coke. It is now at Holkham.



at the Pitti. The faces are seen from the same point in both pictures, the technical treatment in each case is that of Raphael's latest period:—the drawing firmly defined, the surfaces burnished, the modelling bold and subtle. Though all these qualities are partially lost under cleaning and retouching, which have thrown the lights and shadows out of harmony, we can hardly doubt that we see here one of the large batch of cardinals which Leo created in 1517.\*

In the midst of these occupations Raphael was enabled to give Agostino Chigi the final satisfaction of witnessing the completion of the Farnesina. Exhibited in December of the year 1518, it brought the whole public of Rome to the Lungara. Hostile critics, naturally, were soon busy in taking to pieces what Raphael's art and ingenuity had so laboriously put together. Lionardo Sellaio hastened to write to Michaelangelo "that the ceiling of Agostino Chigi's villa, which had just been displayed, was a disgrace to the master, and worse, a good deal, than the last of the Vatican chambers."† Happily the days are past when masterpieces of Raphael can be judged by the prejudiced opinion of his personal foes. We can

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\* Madrid. Mus. No. 367. Wood. 0·78 h. by 0·61. Shaven face three-quarters to the left, neck bare, the left arm in a lawn sleeve, seen at the edge of the picture, with a small portion of a hand, on dark brown-green ground. Pass. (ii. 146) seems not to have noticed the variations which distinguish this portrait from that of Bibiena at

the Pitti. Technically considered the "Madrid Cardinal" seems painted about the same time, perhaps just before, the "Leo." It may perhaps appear that the person depicted is Cardinal Cibò.

† See the letter which Springer correctly dates Jan. 1, 1519, from Sellaio to Michaelangelo, in Gotti's M. A., ii. p. 55.

easily discern that Raphael's share of the manual labour at the Farnesina was slight and accidental. But it is not difficult to see that his was the scheme of the decoration, his the filling of the spaces, his the rapid scratch sketches, in which the distribution of the figures was set forth, his in many cases the studies from life which guided the pupils to whom he confided the work. We shall be able to point out one of the most fugitive of the preparations and several of the studies thrown off for the guidance of Giulio Romano, and at the same time to trace the very footsteps of Raphael when he took the brush and showed his foreman how to paint. The result certainly is not what we should expect from Raphael single-handed. But it fully comes up to the level of all that was executed by deputy about the same period at the Loggie of the Vatican, superior indeed to the Loggie, because the superintendence was closer, and the effort to fill the spaces and group the subjects greater at the Farnesina than at the Vatican. It was the fault, not of Raphael, but of those to whom he confided the task which he could not himself perform, that the frescos of Chigi's Loggia were beneath the "Galatea" in purity of form and correctness of outline. They would assuredly have been marvels had his own hand transferred to the walls designs equally characterized by grace and playful humour. Yet it would have been matter for deeper regret that Raphael's own work should have been subjected to the accidents under which his forms and the brush strokes of Giulio Romano were nearly allowed to perish. The gaudy

flesh tints, or the patent blues which Maratta laid in the skies, are probably less offensive than the general decay of surface which, but for restorers, would now have met our view.

The subjects which Chigi gave to Raphael were taken from the fable of Psyche, the principal scenes of which were conceived as arras hangings pinned over a framing of garlands in place of a ceiling. Nature had so far favoured this mode of decoration that the lodge was open towards the garden, and laid out in the form of a colonnade. From the capitals of the pillars bearing the arches of this colonnade, there sprung the covering of an arbour, a covering like a tray, the curved edges of which were broken with spandrels and lunettes, parted by framework imitating festoons of fruit and leaves. Through this framework the blue ether was supposed to be visible, showing, in the lunettes, the gambols of Cupid, playing with the weapons and emblems of the gods; in the spandrels, the principal episodes of Psyche's myth. The clever selection which Raphael made from the fable, and the happy extension of the story into pictures which it barely suggests, have justly been considered a proof of the painter's fine sense for pictorial illustration. It was doubtless with a fixed purpose, and probably not without Chigi's approval, that the opening of the drama was suppressed, and Psyche herself was not allowed to appear. Indications of her presence, whilst she remained invisible, were ingeniously conveyed in the first of the spandrels, where Venus looks down at her neglected altars and

bids Cupid use his dart against the author of her shame. The second pendentive shows Cupid relenting as he points out Psyche to the Graces. In the two following pieces Venus comes afresh on the scene. She meets Juno and Ceres, and turning from them in disdain, hastens to the footstool of Jove, whither she ascends in a golden car drawn by doves, four-in-hand. The fifth fresco introduces us to Jupiter sitting on the back of the eagle, with a bundle of thunderbolts in his arm, listening to the wheedling complaints of the goddess. Mercury is instantly despatched with the warrant for Psyche's arrest. We are then left to imagine the surrender of the culprit, her sufferings and secret encouragements, till we come to the seventh fresco, where she appears returning from Styx, borne by the winged myrmidons of Cupid, and holding aloft the love salve of Proserpine. As she kneels in the eighth spandrel and presents the salve to Venus, the goddess looks down at the present with surprise. Meanwhile Cupid has taken his grievance to the highest of courts. He stands with outstretched pinions, holding the arrow and the bow at Jupiter's knee, and Jupiter strokes his chin and kisses him, promising that Psyche shall be taken by Mercury to Olympus.\* This brings us to the ceiling pictures, which embody the final acts of the myth. Jupiter sits

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\* *Cupid and Jove.* Louvre. No. 1613. Red chalk. 0·362 h. by 0·253. This is a red chalk drawing, with more of the character of Giulio Romano than of Raphael.

The heads of Jove and Cupid are from models. On the back of the sheet (a bequest of Mr. Jules Carrouge) there is a profile of a woman holding a disc.

in judgment, with Juno and Pallas at one side, and Neptune, Vulcan, and Mars at the other, whilst in front Cupid pleads and Venus accuses. The circle of minor gods includes Apollo, Hercules, Janus, and two river deities. Psyche comes in to the left, and Mercury with his wand presents to her the cup of immortality. At the banquet which closes the fable, Jupiter presides, and toasts the bride and bridegroom. He takes the nectar from Ganymede; Venus dances to the music of Apollo, the Hours drop flowers on the table, and the Graces pour ointments on Psyche's head.

Without for a moment doubting that Raphael is the author of these great pages of mythic history, and particularly the author of the "Banquet," for which we have his own admirable studies of the Apollo, the Hours, and the Graces, we cannot contend that there is a single touch of Raphael in that portion of the ceiling of the Farnesina.\* One of the scenes in the spandrels is the subject of a

\* *Apollo*. Vienna. Albertina. Red chalk study of Apollo, standing on the right leg, raising the left on a projection, holding the lyre, and looking round over his right shoulder. This is a very fine study of nude. Copy at Holkham.

*The Graces*. Windsor. The three Graces, seen to the knees. Nude. Red chalk. 8 in. h. by 9. This is as fine as the Apollo, and the figures came exactly into the fresco. Touch proof from the original at Chatsworth, and copy

at Berlin print room.

*The Three Hours*. Chantilly. Collection of Duke d'Aumale. Three figures seen to the waist, in red chalk, draped, but without the wings. 0·195 h. by 0·350. The three studies are from one model,—the central one like the angel in the "Holy Family" of 1518. This splendid drawing was bought in 1846 by Mr. Reiset from the collection of Mr. de Cedron, at Beausset, between Marseilles and Toulon.

scratch sketch at Oxford, in which the rudiments of a design for Psyche with the salve are comprised. The same idea is carried a step further in a study of Venus and Psyche at the Louvre, which is perhaps unequalled for grace and economy of line in Raphael's practice.\* Yet when we turn to the Loggia itself, we notice the absence of Raphael's pencil and brush. But we gather this much from the revelations which the drawings afford, that the first impressions and the finished studies for the cartoons were carefully prepared by the master in several instances. In others, he merely gave the idea from which Giulio Romano made the design, and Raphael intervened at the moment when the outlines were cut into the wall; this occurred, as most have observed, in the pendentive, where Cupid, finding the Graces in Olympus, points out to them the loveliness of his mistress.

We can trace Raphael's movements with almost absolute certainty when this beautiful subject was realized.† Cupid, to the left, hovers over the earth with

\* *Venus and Psyche.* Oxford Mus., No. 10. Pen and ink scratch sketch of Venus with outstretched arms and Psyche to the right. A third figure in the background,  $4\frac{1}{8}$  in. h. by  $3\frac{1}{8}$ . This rough sketch was modified in the study.

Louvre. No. 327. Red chalk. Of great delicacy and finish. Venus without the diadem, but otherwise similar to the fresco; Psyche with her left leg raised and her right knee on the ground, the drapery

behind her unfinished. 0·265 h. by 0·197.

† *Cupid with the Graces.* Windsor Palace. Red chalk.  $8\frac{7}{8}$  in. h. by  $7\frac{5}{8}$ . This is a drawing which is feeble in line and not free from retouching, and of which it is difficult to say that it shows the hand of Raphael, nor indeed can we discern that of Giulio Romano. It has been patched after being torn in half.

outstretched wings, and points downwards with both hands, looking round the while to address the two Graces who sit facing him on the clouds. In front of them all, a third Grace is seen in the mist, showing her back and the profile of her face. Giulio Romano was on the scaffoldings, painting. He had finished, the day before, the Cupid, and the heads of the three Graces; the lime had just been set for the rest, when Raphael came up, and took the brushes and pots. Nothing is more striking than the contrast between the heavy red tinting of Giulio and that which Raphael put in by its side. With a light quick hand he worked in Cupid's leg and the body of the nearest Grace. A delicate scale of greenish shadows was blended quickly into opaline grey transitions and clear transparent high lights, and then a few hurried words to Giulio, instructions to finish the remainder in the same key, and Raphael withdrew to other occupations. Giulio, resuming the brush, painted in his turn the Grace in profile to the right. He had the very colour—bowls, and pencils, and the very mixtures of Raphael before him. He used them fresh from the lesson. But in spite of all, he could not absolutely equal the swift and delicate handling of the master, and this it is which, in every other part of these decorations, is wanting. It is Giulio and not Raphael whose presence is betrayed in a certain coarseness of manual treatment. The only wonder seems to be that Giulio's gross art should not more completely conceal the poetic contents, the ideal conception of Raphael.

What strikes us powerfully in the Farnesina Loggia, is exactly what struck us in the "Galatea." The ceiling frescos of the "Council" and the "Banquet" are bas-reliefs for which we seek originals without finding them.\* What genius the mere statement of this fact concedes to Raphael! yet we look for the trace of his passage in the "Council" almost in vain. No doubt the fine drawing of Mercury presenting the ambrosial cup to Psyche at Chatsworth is inspired by Raphael. But the line is Giulio Romano's.† For the rest there is no evidence of preparations. Mercury and Psyche are both antique, though Psyche moves with little classic grace; but the winged Amor clinging to Psyche's legs is a very incarnation of Raphaeleic fondness and candour.

In the "Nuptials" more life and fire; but also more of Raphael than in the "Banquet." The gods are delineated after Greek models, the goddesses less so, because, involuntarily, the Roman type of the 16th century intrudes; and Venus, who steps the measure to the music of Apollo, reminds us equally of the Greek bacchante, and the modern dancer of the *saltarello*. The reason of this intensified life and vitality may be found in the studies of the master.

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\* Bâle. Professor Horner. In this collection the Windsor Catalogue notes two cartoons for the "Council" and "Banquet," which Passavant describes as 5 ft. long, much restored (ii. 285) and feeble.

† *Psyche with the Ambrosial Cup*. Chatsworth. This spirited drawing has all the marks of

Giulio Romano's hand. It is somewhat weak in the extremities, and there is some variety between the lie of the hand with the wand in the study and fresco. Copy at Weimar. Ducal Collection. The Windsor Catalogue notes a study for the Jupiter and Neptune of the "Council." Not seen.



The nude of Apollo in the drawing of the Albertina displays more grace than the draped god in the fresco. The Hours, at Chantilly, a delicious mixture of the classic and nature made light and airy by butterfly shapes and gauzy wings, tell of the inspiration which produced the beautiful angel in the "Holy Family" of Francis I. Bacchus, pouring out the wine with which Amor waits on the gods, is not less in the Greek mould than the cups and amphora which contain the nectar.\* But the Graces who hover above the form of Psyche are types which Raphael took from life in a splendid study at Windsor. The whole picture doubtless attracted and captivated Raphael because it was typical of the elegant profusion of Agostino Chigi's own banquets, where Cupid and Psyche were probably worshipped in company of Bacchus, and Leo X. was the true representative of Jove. We can only regret that graceful designs should have been marred in transfer to the walls by the excesses of large forming, thick-set stature, and meaningless expression imported into the master's creation by his pupils. Who these pupils were is but too plain at times to be missed. In the garlands of fruit and leaves, the art and handling of Giovanni da Udine seem admirable.† Giulio's work elsewhere is fairly good, though sometimes spoiled by his customary aberrations; but we also find Penni a subordinate, and others lower down in the scale, whose

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\* *Bacchus*. There is a red chalk drawing for the Bacchus pouring out the wine, in the Ambrosiana

at Milan, but the authors reserve their opinion about it.

† Compare Vas., viii. p. 46.

very worst is apparent in the coppery tints and hardnesses of the gambols of children in the lunettes.\* In the "Venus ordering Cupid away with his dart," Penni seems tamely enough to realize Raphael's design. In the "Venus meeting Juno and Ceres," an echo of the lesson given by Raphael to Giulio is apparent in a magnificent presentment of the principal goddess. The coldness of feebler hands, in the following numbers of the series, gives way to some extent in the Mercury who flies, trumpet in hand, to order Psyche's arrest, but the motion and the play of light are alone effective, the shape being heavy and muscular. The finest of the pendentives, except that of Cupid and the Graces, is that in which Venus receives the cup from Psyche; and the secret of Giulio's success in this instance lies in the fact that he was guided completely by Raphael's drawing, in which we possess, as before observed, one of the most masterly studies of his later time. It is characteristic and not unworthy of remark that the "Psyche borne by Mercury to Olympus" repeats in general form and trim of hair the "St. Cecilia" of Bologna,† whilst here and there we observe the same artistic properties,—vases, cups, tridents, forks—which appear in the "St. Michael" of 1518 and the Loggie of the Vatican.‡

\* Vas., viii. p. 242.

† The drawing at Chatsworth is much worn but fine, in the style of Giulio Romano. Red chalk. Copy in Berlin print room, and copy at Weimar. 0.33 h. by 0.22.

‡ Of the numerous drawings

and sketches mentioned in the Windsor Catalogue and Passavant, in addition to those above mentioned, we cannot quote one that can claim to be certainly original.

The state of the frescos has been described generally. They

The Loggie were commenced by Raphael towards the close of 1517. Leo X. had determined that the lowest of the three stories should be decorated with ornaments of a simple kind, suitable to a locality much frequented by persons about the Court; the next one was reserved for the private exhibition of antiques; the third for the special use of Cardinal Bibiena.

Bramante, who finished the two lower lodges before he died, was succeeded by Raphael, who afterwards remodelled the second, and built the third Loggia. But his skill as a decorator was only tested in the second, which forms one of the approaches to the Papal Chambers. Many persons watched the progress of the works with interest, and not the least, Bibiena, Bembo, Castiglione, and Marcantonio Michiel the Venetian. In a letter written on the 19th of July, 1517, Bembo informs Cardinal Bibiena that the building of the Loggie is in progress.\* The Vatican accounts record two payments for flooring to Lucca della Robbia, in 1518;† they mention, further, a present of 25 ducats made on the 11th of June, 1519, "to the journeymen who did the painting of the Loggie."‡ The fact is confirmed by Baldassare

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have suffered from the restoring of Carlo Maratta, and now look too red or too gaudy and too fresh in the blues. In the "Nuptials," one of the Hours to the right is blackened by repainting.

Gaudenzio Ferrari and Raphael del Colle have been mentioned as having had a share in the execution of the Farnesina Loggia. But

it would be difficult to point to a single instance of this co-operation.

\* Bembo to Bibiena, July 19, 1517, in B. Opera, *u. s.*, v. p. 59.

† Aug. 15 and Sept. 10. Müntz, Raphael, note to p. 452.

‡ V. Zahn, *Notizie Artistiche tratte del Arch° Vatic°*, p. 24, and *Giorn. di Erud. Tosc.*, *u. s.*, vol. vi. p. 280.

Castiglione, who wrote to Isabella Gonzaga from Rome on the 16th of June, 1519, "that a loggia had been finished at the Vatican, the work of Raphael, as fine as possible, and better than anything else that could be shown in those days."\* A letter of the same year, addressed by Michiel to a friend at Venice, adds that Raphael had finished the second story before the 4th of May, and was preparing to paint the first and third in the following summer.

Michiel's description of the principal loggia deserves to be quoted. "It is closed," he says, "and set apart for the Pope's sole use. It contains pictures of great price and singular beauty, the scheme of which was by Raphael of Urbino. And besides these, the Pope has brought together several statues previously kept in private deposits bought in part by Julius II. and in part by himself, and placed in niches ensconced alternately within the windows opposite to the pillars or pilasters of the colonnade, and contiguous to the papal chambers and consistorial conclaves."†

Vasari, who collected information similar to that of Michiel from trustworthy sources, says that the Loggie were decorated with pictures, ornament, and borders after the design of Raphael, who appointed Giulio Romano superintendent of the painters, with Penni as a partner, and Giovanni da Udine to conduct the work of stuccos and arabesques.‡

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\* B. Castiglione to Isabella Gonzaga, in the Archives of Mantua, part published in *Il Raffaello* of Sept. 20—30, 1876, *u. s.*

† Michiel's Corr. in *Cicogna. Memorie dell' Istituto Veneto*, 1860, vol. ix. pp. 401—407.

‡ Vas., x. pp. 88 and 142.

History and contemporary records thus inform us that the scheme of the Loggie was by Raphael, the execution by his pupils. It remains to determine what Vasari and Michiel meant by scheme and design; but we shall find at the very outset that this is a point of considerable importance, because on the faith of Vasari's statement it has been customary to assign to Raphael a series of drawings of a peculiar character, which a close inspection invariably proves to have been by the master's assistants. Contemporary authorities tell us that Raphael entrusted the manual labour of the frescos of the Loggie to his disciples. It will be found that these subordinates are the draughtsmen of the water colours in black and white which served to transfer the subjects to the wall; and it becomes a natural subject of inquiry what was Raphael's share in an undertaking which for centuries has borne his name. After a diligent search we shall be constrained to admit that the only scrap attributable to Raphael in connection with the Loggie is the "David and Goliath" of the Albertina Collection at Vienna, a spirited pen and ink sketch, which in all probability was not made specially for the frescos of the Vatican, but was part of the material entrusted to Marcantonio for the composition of his celebrated print. All other studies connected with the Loggie will be found to have been made by Raphael's assistants, of whom it appears that the number and competence were cleverly gauged for the purpose of completing, within a comparatively short space of time, one of the most clever combinations of painting, sculpture, and

decoration, ever put together by the genius of a single man.

We must insist upon the exclusive and supreme command of Raphael, because it is evident that none of those whom Raphael employed has shown, in the works which he undertook after the master's death, the capacity and judgment required for the decoration of the Loggie. And yet if asked to point out a single case in which the evidence of Raphael's intervention is clear, we shall be forced to admit that no such case can be quoted, and we only conjecture what Raphael's part in the Loggie really was, and how it came that the traces of his participation were lost.

Giulio Romano, Penni, and Giovanni da Udine have already been mentioned. Vasari adds, that Perino del Vaga, Pellegrino da Modena, Vincenzo da San Gimignano, Polidoro da Caravaggio, and Bologna, better known as Vincidor, were assistants.

Giulio Romano, at the period of the Loggie, was in the full enjoyment of his master's confidence as a draughtsman and executant. He was in the largest expansion of a power derived after long and patient schooling from Raphael. We shall venture to presume that mere indications, and the grouping of a few lines on his chief's part, sufficed to enable Giulio to form and put together the compositions which had ripened in the master's mind; nothing in these indications or groupings would be considered worthy of preservation. The Loggie were conceived and executed on the same system as Raphael's architectural designs. His genius suggested a general idea which

other men worked out. No architectural drawings by Raphael exist, no drawings of Raphael can be found for the Loggie. Giulio, therefore, is the head man to whom we assign most of the drafts for the frescos, of which 52 are placed in the 13 cupolas, done from an almost equal number of extant designs.\* Eleven monochromes imitating bronze were introduced into the small oblong fields under the windows opening on the Loggie. For almost all of them a drawing may be found, yet none of them are by Raphael.

But Giulio Romano was not only the draughtsman of many of the frescos. He also executed several of them with his own hand, and Vasari is only incorrect in his description of all the works that came from that source, because he reduces Giulio's labour to the "Creation of Eve," the "Creation of Animals," the "Building of the Ark," and the "Finding of Moses."†

Penni, the best of Raphael's pupils after Giulio, was naturally appointed to the second place at the Loggie. It may be that in some instances he made studied compositions, such as we now find in black and white, under Giulio's superintendence. Thus a second subdivision of work took place, in which Raphael had even less share than in the first. Later on, Giulio and Penni were found unequal to the strain of rapid production. Vasari says that Perino, who was first engaged to help Giovanni da Udine in the grotesques, became a composer and painter of frescos, and produced the bronzemonochromes beneath the windows.

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\* About 14 of the frescos are unaccompanied by some design.

† Vas., viii. p. 42 ; xx. p. 88.

It is probable that Perino did much more than these basement subjects. The time came when Giulio found it necessary to give up the brush at the Loggie altogether; Penni too was wanted for other duties occasionally. Then no doubt Perino stepped in. But he too would require assistance, and he might choose, at his pleasure, the help of Bologna, Polidoro, Pellegrino, or Tamagni. Looking technically at the frescos of the Loggie, we shall see that they were begun by Giulio, who laboured jointly with Penni. The result of this conjunction is painting of a powerful style, remarkable for depth of tone and bold execution. As further progress was made, the hand of Giulio became confounded with that of Penni, so that their peculiarities were lost. And this phase was succeeded by another, in which we discover the handling of an assistant intruding where his two chiefs have already left their mark. This intrusion is manifested in colours of a warmer tinge, yet of a lighter scale, and more marked transparency; and this points clearly enough to the intervention of Perino del Vaga, who brought with him from Florence the habits of a Tuscan, which somewhat differed from those acquired at Rome by Giulio and Penni. We might waver between Perino and some of his comrades of a lesser grade were it not that we can in no case point out a touch exclusively attributable to Bologna, Pellegrino, or Tamagni, whilst we fail equally to discover the pure form of Raphael del Colle, to whom whole frescos in the Loggie have been assigned by comparatively modern criticism.



Giovanni da Udine is to be acknowledged as the artist who executed the ornaments of painting and stucco which gave their peculiar character to the Loggie. But here also Raphael probably exercised the same supervision as that which controlled Giulio Romano. He too had assistants; \* yet their names would have remained obscure, but that we may comprise amongst them Lorenzetto, who transferred to a round in the Loggie the "Jonah" of the Chigi chapel at Santa Maria del Popolo, and perhaps Pietro of Ancona, the sculptor who carved the marble which Raphael had worked in clay. It is noteworthy that some of the painted subjects of the Loggie were copied in stucco by the assistants of Giovanni da Udine, and conspicuous amongst them is the "Expulsion of Eve."

There seems to be no doubt that the chief architectural features of the Loggie are due to the creative mind of Bramante. It is a remarkable coincidence that they should closely resemble the colonnades of the palace of Urbino. The ornamentation of the second Loggia was based on combinations which Raphael might easily produce by commingling reminiscences of his native place with revivals of detail found in ancient buildings at Rome. The paintings and stuccos of the Loggie are undoubtedly the most remarkable decorative work of the 14th and 15th centuries. They were not novel, in so far as the adornment of surfaces with objects imitating pillars, pilasters,

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\* Vas., x. p. 142.

vaultings, and panellings, was known and practised throughout the whole period of the revival of Italian art. But they were so because of the elegance and taste which gave these forms additional perfection. In the Sixtine Chapel Michaelangelo had preceded Raphael in the application of architectural features relieving and enframing majestic figures. But Michaelangelo had had the advantage of an enormous space in which he was well able to display his colossal powers. The small and numerous fields which Raphael had to fill required quite another form of art, something jewel-like and minute, in which much skill was required to make things in themselves minute neither paltry nor ineffective. It was his good fortune to find a mine of artistic wealth admirably suited for his purpose in the ruins of Roman buildings. With the same subjects of the Old Testament to deal with, which Michaelangelo had previously composed, he was asked to produce something new and masterly. He did so without ever touching a brush or moulding an ounce of clay, simply by directing and controlling the activity of men whom he had trained for his own purpose and who were skilled to divine and carry out what his mind had conceived. The result was marvellous. But if we look into it, we do not ask, we cannot expect to find, anything to equal the grandeur of the Sixtine Chapel, or anything approaching the sublime creations of Michaelangelo. The work must be looked at as a decorative whole, a scheme in which each part is subordinate to the other, the ornament to the painting, the sculpture to the ornament. The pictures are

naturally below those which would have been produced by the magic of Raphael's own hand.

Specially in the character of the antique is the ceiling of the colonnades, which is square, converging to a furnace vault, broken into ornament encircling four spaces, each of which is a long rectangle or a hexagon containing a picture. These furnace vaultings roof the intercolumniations, which are supported by square pillars and pilasters, leaving spaces between them, all of which, as well as the faces of the pillars, are filled with beautiful ornaments and arabesques, or sunk framings containing stuccos. In the two cupolas which contain hexagonal pictures (the first and thirteenth of the series), the ground is cut out into lozenges. The remaining cupolas contain square pictures enclosed in borders richly decorated with birds and children, or strings of fruit and flowers. Following the curves of the bends, fan-like flutings are filled with borders and patterns running upwards in endless variety. The merit of Raphael lies in the way in which he combined art and natural taste in welding all these materials into one mass, which is a marvel of unity as a whole. Nor is it without wonder that we observe how cleverly he brings together subjects of the Old Testament and old pagan world themes, such as gods and goddesses and antique fable, without raising a doubt in our mind as to the propriety of their conjunction.

If after all, here and there, reminiscences of the Sixtine are not excluded, it is not because Raphael had preserved any leaning for the style of Michael-

angelo, but because, with a great subservience to Raphael, Giulio Romano and his colleagues had also come to imbibe Michaelangesque ideas independently of Raphael. It no doubt happened that when Giulio appealed to his master for the form of a given subject, the answer might be that he was busy at St. Peter or busy at the Camere, or could spare no time from the "Madonna di San Sisto" or the "St. Cecilia." Thrown on his own resources, Giulio was not always true to Raphael; he poached on the neighbouring manor, and hence the Michaelangesque in some frescos of the Loggie. But this makes the Loggie hardly less interesting than they would otherwise be. They reveal the spring from which the great current of Italian art after Raphael flowed. They show that the sun had set and a new morn was coming which could only reflect the combined light of the two great luminaries whose brilliancy was never again to be approached.

It has been very fairly said that Raphael clung with extraordinary fidelity in the Loggie to the text of Scripture.\* This is true in the main; there are exceptions. But the economy of space, the severe forbearance which confines the *dramatis personæ* to a small number, the primitive simplicity of the means by which the action is defined, are all marked and admirable characteristics.

The only regret which anyone can express is that this work of the greatest of painters is slowly

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\* Müntz, Raph. u. s.

crumbling to decay. A few, and but a few, of the fresco pictures are fairly preserved. Many are scaling away, others have been ill restored. Stucco has fallen or is continually falling to the ground, and it is difficult to say how this process of disintegration can be stopped.\*

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\* We forbear to interrupt the text of the Life of Raphael with a minute description of the frescos of the Loggie. Yet their subjects and execution deserve to be noted,

and descriptions will be found in that part of the next chapter which immediately follows the account of Raphael's death.

## CHAPTER VIII.

Raphael's social position at Rome in 1519.—His studies of the topography of Rome.—Translation of Vitruvius.—Calvo and Fulvius.—Dangers which Raphael incurred in the excavations of Rome.—Efforts of the Duke of Ferrara to obtain his promised picture.—His agent, Paulucci.—Raphael paints the scenes for Ariosto's comedy of the "Suppositi"; performance of the play before Leo X.—Relations of Paulucci and Raphael.—Baldassare Castiglione again at the Papal Court.—Approaching completion of the "Transfiguration."—The Loggie finished.—Pecuniary gains.—Correspondence with the Gonzagas as to a model for the tomb of the deceased Marquis of Mantua.—Raphael and Agostino Chigi and the chapel in Santa Maria del Popolo.—Commissions for the Hall of Constantine, the arras of the second series, and other pictorial works.—Beginning of the Hall of Constantine.—Original scheme of the decoration: its subsequent alteration, and description of the final arrangement.—The walls to be painted in oil.—The Virtues "Justice" and "Comity" completed in Raphael's life-time.—Design and studies for the "Battle of Constantine."—The remaining frescos finished after the master's death.—Arras of the second series.—The "Coronation of the Virgin"; other numbers of the series.—The Magliana hunting-box.—Villa Madama.—Pictures produced by assistants in Raphael's painting-room: Madonnas—of the Pearl, under the Oak, of the Rose; the Visitation; the young Baptist.—Raphael's relations to Giulio de' Medici.—His final competition with Sebastian del Piombo.—The Transfiguration.—Raphael prepares to build a new palace.—He falls sick.—His death.—Description of the frescos of the Loggie, the Hall of Constantine, and the arras of the second series.—Posthumous and other works.

RAPHAEL's social position at Rome in 1519 is that of a man whose genius had raised him out of the sphere in which most of the artists of his time were confined. Personally a favourite of the Pope and

his dependents, he had learnt to move in the highest circles with the grace of a courtier. With one or two exceptions, every member of the artistic fraternity looked up to him as a dispenser of favours and commissions. Wherever he went he was followed by a host of clients and dependents; those who wanted pictures, and came humbly begging for a masterpiece, were content to take what they could get, even though it should be work, not of Raphael, but his numerous disciples. Festivals and theatricals were successful in proportion as he directed them; palaces, villas, chapels and churches, were raised from their foundations, or transformed into new edifices, under his care or with his approval. Every person with whom he came in contact felt the magic of his influence. An all-compelling Pope, haughty cardinals, and irrepressible diplomatists, smiled alike on the artist. The classic taste of the Greeks, cultivated at Florence under the patronage of the Medici, had found a new worshipper at the Vatican. After recalling the golden age of the Roman Empire in a series of immortal pictures, Raphael was preparing to restore the very semblance of the city as it stood in the time of the Antonines. Near the basilica of St. Peter, to which a new shape and unexpected dimensions had been given, there once had stood vast palaces, temples, baths, and dwellings. It was Raphael's ambition to form a picture of these surroundings to which he might add the projection of edifices in other regions of the city. Entrusted by the Pope with the inspection of ancient remains, he soon found it advisable to

make excavations for the purpose of new discoveries.\* Where these labours were undertaken, the lines of old foundations were traced, their plan determined, and their elevation attempted. It was then, more than ever, that the rules expounded by Vitruvius became necessary to the painter. Giocondo, who had first construed for him the oldest texts, was dead. In practice Raphael was now dependent on Antonio da San Gallo and Giuliano Leno. He determined that he should have Vitruvius at his fingers' ends. He found an antiquary named Fabius Calvo, who lived the life of a hermit, and fed on herbs and lettuces in a den described as little larger or more comfortable than the kennel of Diogenes. He took Calvo into his palace in the Borgo, and kept him there in a state of ease, "that he might profit by his advice and experience." Calvo had already translated the works of Hippocrates. He now turned Vitruvius into Italian, and Raphael mastered the text with care and minuteness, so that he was soon able to lecture on it, and censure or defend the rules of the ancients with facility and grace.†

Another antiquary gave him help in studying the

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\* Raphael seems not to have exercised his duties as inspector of antiquities at Rome without opposition. In the secret archives of the Capitol there is a record of a dispute between him and the conservators of the Capitol. In July, 1518, he claimed a certain statue from the heirs of one Gabriel de' Rossi, and the conser-

vators insisted on its transfer to themselves in virtue of G. de' Rossi's will. See the notarial document in extract in Pungileoni, *Elogio Storico di Timoteo Viti*: 8vo, Urbino, 1835, p. 103.

† See the MS. of Vitruvius by Calvo in the Munich library, and Calcagnini to Jacob Ziegler in the former's *Epistolæ*, l. vii. p. 101.



topography of Rome. It was proposed that a model of the city, as it stood in earlier ages, should be reconstructed after the fashion of Ptolemy's picture of the world. The ground was to be divided into regions. In each region the buildings were to find a place with the original areas, shapes and heights, and the fronts and ornamentation restored according to the rules of Vitruvius.\* Andreas Fulvius, in the Pope's pay, wrote the text for which Raphael sketched the necessary drawings. When the printed work was published in 1527, it appeared without illustrations, and Fulvius wrote a preface to inform Clement VII. that he had explored and laid down the plan of the regions, which Raphael, "a few days before his death, had, upon his indications, outlined in pencil."† Raphael, it is clear, had not had time to prepare drawings from his original sketches, still less had he leisure to consign to paper the written essay on the topography of Rome which has been ascribed to him by the partiality of historians.‡ Celio Calcagnini, a prelate, who had been apostolic protonotary in Hungary, and nuncio at the Coronation of Charles

\* Calcagnini, *u. s.*

† A. Fulvius, *Antiquitates Urbis*, extr. in Pass., Raphael, i. p. 261. This preface is confirmed by Giovius in the passage in which he says Raphael "periit... quum antiquæ urbis ædificiorum vestigia architecturæ studio metiretur."

‡ Consult Winckelmann, in Pass., *u. s.* i. 274. The essay has been printed by Passavant from

the MS. attached to Fulvio's translation of Vitruvius in the Munich library. It was ascribed to Raphael by Francesconi, to Fulvius himself by H. Grimm (*Zahn's Jahrbücher*, iv. p. 67), then again to Raphael by Müntz (*Raphael*, p. 603). The "pencil outlines" of Raphael, representing the "*prieca loca. per regiones*" of Rome, have not come down to us.

V. at Frankfort, returned to Rome in 1519, and found Raphael in the midst of his new researches. "Facile omnium pictorum princeps," he said, in a letter to his friend Jacob Ziegler, Raphael sank pits into the foundations of monuments buried under refuse, and restored them in design to their pristine state. Calcagnini could not conceal his admiration of Raphael's cleverness in effecting this sort of revival by means of descriptions in old authors.\* His surprise was shared by the Roman public of the time, and it was the common belief of Leo and others of that age, that Raphael was performing a greater feat than any that had been witnessed before. The architect of St. Peter was thought to be little less than a god sent down from heaven to restore the old majesty of the capital, and Marcantonio Michiel sighed as he registered the painter's sudden death, because it interrupted the work which had been thus begun with the competent assistance of Fulvius.† The Pope or his courtiers hardly thought that these very labours might cause Raphael's death. They forgot that excavations in the refuse of old Rome might produce the sickness or propagate the strange yet fatal fever which carried Raphael off within eight days after it first attacked him.

No one dreamt of the danger which really surrounded the painter. Considering the importance of the duties which he had assumed, every one who had

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\* Calcagnini to Ziegler, *u. s.*

† Michiel in anon., Morelli, p. 210.

a claim on his art was willing to excuse his procrastination, on the ground that he was busy with matters of the utmost interest. Raphael himself attributed a particular weight to what he was then doing. He had already told the agent of Ferrara, in February, 1519, that he was glad he had not done the Duke's picture, because he had now learnt more of perspective in three months than he had ever learnt before.\* This casual remark is evidence of Raphael's intention to produce the illustrations which Fulvius was prepared to publish. But the knowledge which had been thus acquired was not hoarded for the mere purpose of giving attraction to a book; it was meant to apply to pictorial compositions, easel pictures, and scene decorations. The Duke of Ferrara, who hated Rome, and was far away from the scene of Raphael's exploits, was one of the few men who remained unaffected by the glamour which weighed spell-like on people at the Vatican. He thought Costabili too weak to overcome the resistance which Raphael had hitherto offered to his efforts. He therefore appointed a younger secretary named Paulucci to supersede the Bishop of Adria, and instructed him to push his demands upon Raphael vigorously. Paulucci was told to press for the completion of the Duke's orders, and use diplomatic means to increase the pressure. Cardinal Cibo was known to be one of Raphael's most intimate friends. The Ferrarese secretary was bidden to gain the prelate,

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\* Costabili to the Duke of Ferrara, Feb. 17, 1519, in Campori, *Not. Ined. di Raff.*, p. 16.

and, under guidance from Costabili, to bind the artist inextricably.\*

Paulucci followed his instructions to the letter, but he soon succumbed to the ascendancy of Raphael, whom he became as ready to excuse as the Bishop of Adria. He had soon discovered that Cibo was deeply interested in Raphael's topographical labours, he also learnt that Raphael was painting scenes for a theatre in which perspective views were to be applied to a stage erected for a special purpose in the Cardinal's dwelling. Raphael, in fact, was superintending the scenery and rehearsals of Ariosto's "Suppositi," and the comedy was about to be played before the Pope, the cardinals, and a chosen Roman public. The letter in which the Ferrarese secretary gives an account of this play reflects with such wonderful accuracy the daily life of the Court of Leo in Raphael's time, that we may consider it unique amongst the diplomatic papers of the 16th century.

It was on a Sunday evening in March, 1519, that Paulucci came to the rooms of Cardinal Cibo. He entered under the protection of Cardinal Rangone, and met the Pope in an antichamber scanning each arrival, and blessing with his finger such of the guests as he thought worthy of a seat. Having made a sufficient selection, he passed with his suite into the body of the building, where a raised chair was erected for him in front of an amphitheatre rising in a semi-

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\* Duke of Ferrara to Costabili | at Rome, of the same date, in  
at Rome, Ferrara, April 30, 1519; | Campori, *u. s.* pp. 16, 17.  
and Duke of Ferrara to Paulucci |

circle to the ceiling of the hall, and capable of accommodating 2,000 persons. Round Leo, the court and prelates, and the ambassadors of the various powers, formed themselves according to their rank, and when all the rules of etiquette had been adjusted the curtain fell, instead of rising, for the opening of the play. The first thing that struck the spectators was Leo raising his glasses "to look at the beautiful scene with retreating perspectives from the hand of Raphael." The nuncio came forward to the footlights and recited the argument of Ariosto's comedy, accompanying it with explanations, at which Leo laughed whilst his French guests were scandalized. The play itself was then acted to the great satisfaction of the audience.\* With Calvo's help Raphael had mastered the stage directions of Vitruvius, with the assistance of Fulvius he had realized the ancient splendours of the Eternal City. What wonder that he should have told Costabili how glad he was to have deferred the delivery of the Duke's picture? The whole of Rome became interested in these theatricals, which gave a new impulse to scene-painting under the direction of Baldassare Peruzzi and Aristotile da San Gallo. Whilst Easter festivities brought the Romans together to witness races and coursing, and a select company assembled to look at maskers and runners from the windows of Pietro Bembo's palace, the courtiers gave languid glances at the spectacle in

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\* Paulucci to the Duke of Ferrara, from Rome, March 8, 1519, in Campori, *u. s.* pp. 18—21.

the streets, whilst they talked eagerly of the plays which Cardinal Cibo was again preparing, with Raphael's assistance, in the Castle of Sant' Angelo.\*

Meanwhile Paulucci had made the master's acquaintance. He was introduced to him "at court on the 13th of May." Raphael assured him that, except the Pope, there was no patron whom he liked better than the Duke of Ferrara. To Alphonzo he said he should now devote his time, because Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, for whom he was bound to paint the "Transfiguration," was absent from Rome.† When Paulucci soon after called he found Raphael's door closed, yet when he met him subsequently at evening parties, Raphael urged him to come and see what he had begun for the Duke. Twice in June these invitations were renewed. Twice they were accepted and put off with apologies.‡ Paulucci wrote in the middle of August to his master, that Raphael had appointed the following Monday to receive him.§ In September he had not as yet seen the inside of his painting room.|| The following letter of September 12 is an amusing illustration of Paulucci's ineffectual efforts and Raphael's social wiles:—

"On my way home this evening, I saw Raphael's door open. I stopped and asked for him. He sent

\* Same to same, May 3, 1519, in Campori, *u. s.* p. 23.

† Same to same, Rome, May 14, 1519, in Campori, *u. s.* p. 24.

‡ Same to same, Rome, June 11

and 18, in Campori, *u. s.* p. 25.

§ Same to same, Rome, August 20, 1519, in Campori, *u. s.* p. 25.

|| Duke of Ferrara to Paulucci, Sept. 3, *ib.*, p. 26.

word that he was unable to come down. I got out and went up stairs. An old servant met me and said his master was painting Baldassare Castiglione's portrait, and could not speak to me. I pretended to believe this statement, and said I would call again."\*

Later on :—

"The matter of Raphael is still unsettled. I shall attend to it, but first mean to try kind measures, for men of this excellence all suffer from melancholy, and Raphael the more because he clings to this question of architecture, and does the Bramante, and would like to take the art out of the hands of Giuliano Leno."†

The Duke in reply in January, 1520 :—

"Tell Raphael to think of the consequences of giving his word to one of our sort, yet holding it in no greater account than that of a vile plebeian. He has done nothing but lie. You must remind Cardinal Cibo of his promise to use his influence with Raphael."‡

Paulucci could only urge in return that he had pressed the Duke's claims on Raphael whenever he had met him, but that the constant excuse had been the picture of Cardinal de' Medici, which Battista Dossi said would be finished at Carnival time.§

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\* The painting of Castiglione's portrait was a mere excuse. At all events we know of no likeness which shows the envoy of the Rovere in a later form than the picture of the Louvre (1516). But see Campori, *u. s.* p. 26, and Paulucci to Duke of Ferrara,

Rome, Sept. 12, 1519, in Campori, *u. s.* p. 27.

† Paulucci to Duke of Ferrara, Dec. 17, 1519, in Campori, *u. s.* p. 28.

‡ Duke of Ferrara to Paulucci, Jan. 20, 1520, in Campori, *u. s.* p. 29.

§ Campori, *u. s.* p. 29.

At last Raphael admitted the Ferrarese envoy to his palace, showed him pictures which he thought beautiful, told him that Dosso Dossi would receive a message to excuse him personally to the Duke, and displayed his amiability so far as to furnish designs for flues by which Alphonzo's chimneys were to be cured of smoking.\* By this time, however, the month of March, 1520, had nearly expired, the melancholy which Paulucci had detected in September was about to develop into a dangerous illness in the following April. Nothing came of the Ferrarese commission, whilst the chamber which Alphonzo had decorated with Bellini's "Bacchanal," and Titian's "Ariadne," and meant to have completed with a "Triumph of Venus" by Raphael, remained without its final adornment.

Other matters at various intervals had occupied the painter's attention. He had, as we must needs remember, but just finished the Loggie in June, 1519, and for these and other important labours he had had the pleasure of receiving large sums of money from the Pope.† Some members of the Medici family, indeed, had been less constant in their patronage than Leo, and Lorenzo at Florence would have deprived Raphael's step-brother of the promise of a benefice at Urbino, but that the painter's friends interfered, and Goro Gheri reversed the decision of

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\* *Ib. ib.*, p. 24.

† 7th May, 1519, he receives 400 ducats, and a bill for 600 more (*Spogli Vaticani* in *Gior-*

nale di *Erud. Tosc.*, vol. vi. p. 280). For other large payments see also *Pungileoni*, *Raphael*, note to p. 163.



his chief.\* Still everything went well for the great artist. He was flattered on all sides by busy patrons of the highest station, and his only difficulty was to satisfy them.

The Gonzagas of Mantua had suddenly manifested a pardonable eagerness to obtain a masterpiece from the greatest of Italians. The death of the Marquis of Mantua in March had thrown Isabella into mourning. She ventured to hope that Raphael would undertake the erection of his tomb, and Castiglione, who had been sent to Rome to represent the Gonzaga interest, had speedily resumed his old position in Raphael's circle, and induced him to sketch an outline of a monument. The drawing was forwarded to Isabella by the Bishop of Tricarico, and Castiglione recommended its acceptance in the vain hope that the master would live to carry it out.†

Agostino Chigi too was monopolizing some of Raphael's precious time in an attempt to complete the chapel of Santa Maria del Popolo, for which Raphael had undertaken to superintend the decoration.‡

But Agostino Chigi, the Gonzagas, and Estes were not the persons destined to the heaviest disappoint-

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\* Goro Gheri to Benedetto Buondelmonte, Flor., April 7, 1519, in Gaye, *Carteggio*, ii. p. 149. This was not the first time in which Raphael had to interfere in favour of a relative. He had occasion to settle the differences between his cousin Girolamo Vagnini and an archdeacon at Urbino in respect of a benefice in

June, 1518. See the records in Pungileoni, *u. s.* p. 205.

† Castiglione to the Marchioness of Mantua, Rome, June 3, 1519, in Campori's *Not. per la Vita di Gio. Santi e Raf. Sanzio*, *u. s.* p. 13.

‡ See A. Chigi's will of Aug. 19, 1519, in C. Fea, *Notizie*, *u. s.* p. 9.

ment. Leo X., greatly encouraged by Raphael's success in the frescos of the Camere and the cartoons for the Sixtine Chapel, naturally fancied that his great and apparently inexhaustible composer would reap fresh laurels from new and important undertakings. He desired to see the Hall of Constantine covered with frescos, the Hall of the Consistory hung with new tapestries, and the villa of the Magliana finished. He issued his commands to Raphael to attend to these commissions, and Raphael was obliged to obey. But the way in which he accepted these new and onerous duties, and the manner in which he carried them out, shows that he no longer felt bound to paint much with his own hand. Having spent the best of his energies in the production of the subjects of the Loggie, he found it difficult to concentrate his efforts for the decoration of the Hall of Constantine, the arras, or the completion of the Magliana. The lukewarm interest which he felt for the new series of cartoons is as surely proved by the tapestries themselves as it is by the sketches which were furnished for their composition. It is evident that Giulio Romano was deputed to act as superintendent of all Raphael's monumental works, and use his own judgment whenever his master was unable to furnish the original preparations, or make the necessary studies. A large number of journeymen were engaged to act as Giulio's subordinates, and little remains to reveal Raphael's practical connection with the Hall of Constantine, the Magliana, or what is now known as the arras of the second series.

It has been handed down to us by Vasari that when Leo X. caused his commands to be issued for the decoration of the Hall of Constantine, Raphael had reached the zenith of his fame. Without a moment's delay the work was taken in hand, and sketches and cartoons were prepared for the purpose of realizing the pontiff's desire.\* According to the testimony of Sebastian del Piombo, the four principal subjects were to be the vision of the cross, the battle, the dream and baptism of Constantine, and the preliminaries of the massacre of children whose blood was to heal the emperor's leprosy. Long after Raphael's death, his disciples pretended that they were in possession of all their master's designs for these pictures, and it may be that amongst them were the studies for the "Massacre of the Innocents" which, we saw, had been used for the production of Marcantonio's celebrated copperplate. Be this as it may, the pictures which Giulio Romano and his partners finally executed were different in many respects from those of which they declared that they possessed the original drawings, and we look in vain for a trace in the Hall of Constantine of that portion of the legend which Sebastian describes as "the preparation for the emperor's bath, the dream in which Sylvester appeared and converted Constantine, and the moment when angry mothers defended their innocent offspring from the murderous assaults of imperial guards." † It

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\* Vas. viii. pp. 47, 242-3, and x. pp. 91, and ff. | Michaelangelo, Rome, Oct. 27, 1520, in Gotti's Michaelangelo, i. 138.

† Sebastian del Piombo to

would have been in accordance with custom and precedent to illustrate the legend of Constantine in the same form as that which had already been used for the Camere. But modern fashions were in favour at the Vatican, and Raphael's instructions were to paint in a medium with which he had not been familiar.

The obstinate quarrel which had been waged for so many years between the followers of Michaelangelo and the disciples of his rival had, at this period, entered on a peculiar phase. Sebastian del Piombo, backed by Buonarrotti, had staked his reputation on monumental work, which was to supersede fresco and display the lustre and brightness of oil on mural surfaces. No one could deny the brilliancy or effectiveness of this method, but it was still a question whether oil-painting could equal fresco in regard to rapidity of execution, or in respect of power to withstand the ravages of time. There was evidently an impression in Raphael's mind that Sebastian's revival of a system which had failed at Florence in the days of Alessio Baldovinetti might now be attended with advantages which it would be desirable to try. He therefore prepared the adornment of the Hall of Constantine with the intention of applying the new method to a couple of test figures which, it was resolved, should be allegories of Justice and Comity. Whilst these allegories were in course of execution, the subjects which had originally been chosen were probably altered, for, when actually finished, they no longer represented the incidents which Sebastian describes. We must be content to

remain in ignorance of the moment when these changes were made or new episodes were selected to replace those originally chosen.

The Hall of Constantine is an irregular quadrangle of which the longest wall is lighted by two windows which directly face it. Four subjects were designed to adorn the room: the "Baptism" to cover the space opposite the entrance from the Camere; the "Vision of the Cross" to fill the other side; the "Victory over Maxentius" to front the windows; and, between these openings, the "Gift of Rome to the Papacy." Impressed with the grand effectiveness of the arras ornaments displayed in the Sixtine Chapel, Raphael imagined the four great subjects entrusted to his pencil to be vast tapestries with appropriate borders and fringes hung on a surface broken into niches, resting on a panelled skirting divided by caryatidæ and sunk framings. The niches, eight in number, were to contain the portraits of celebrated Popes, attended by angels and accompanied by virtues; and other allegories on a smaller scale were to find a place above the capitals of the niche pilasters. To the left of the "Baptism" St. Peter on a throne, under a daïs, between "The Church" and "Eternity;" to the right Clement I. between "Modesty" and "Comity." Flanking the "Battle" in the same order, came Alexander I. with "Faith" and "Religion," and Urban I. with "Justice" and "Charity;" at the sides of the "Vision of the Cross," Damasus I. between "Prudence" and "Peace," and Leo I. between "Purity" and "Truth;" and to the right and left of the windows,

Felix III. with the allegory of "Force," and Gregory VII. with that of "Spiritual Force." On the pilasters above Pope Damasus, "Apollo and Diana;" on those above the remaining niches, males and females bearing yokes and scrolls inscribed with Leo's motto: "Suave." The caryatidæ conveyed similar allusions to the pontiff in the shape of a diamond ring and other emblems. In the sunk framings of the skirting, there came bronze monochromes representing the defence of Constantine's camp, the solemn entry of the Emperor after his victory, and a procession headed by an imperial charger—all beneath the "Vision"; under the "Battle," Romans preparing to work a catapult, prisoners received by Constantine, the body of Maxentius rescued from the river, and the assault of a fortress—in one composition; then the moving of a camp, and the head of Maxentius carried by a troop of soldiers; beneath the "Baptism," Constantine ordering the repeal of the edicts against Christians, and the building of St. Peter. At the foot of the "Gift of Rome," Constantine on his knees before Sylvester, and his vision of the Apostles Peter and Paul. The embrasures of the windows also contained pictured allegories illustrating Constantine's encouragement of agriculture, road-making, and science and art; four other scenes represented Pagans destroying their idols, St. Sylvester chaining a dragon, the meeting of Constantine and Helen, and Gregory composing a homily.

The two virtues of "Justice" and "Comity"

which Raphael first undertook for the purpose of testing his new method of mural painting in oil, were considered a triumphant success. We learn from a letter which Cardinal Bibiena wrote to Sebastian del Piombo that one of them was so beautiful as to surpass anything that had been done in the Camere,\* yet there is no reason for thinking that the great master did much more than furnish the designs, which were transferred to the wall by Giulio Romano and Penni, and finally harmonize by a few sweeping touches the work of his disciples. At Raphael's death, the decoration of the Hall of Constantine had made no further progress, except that the priming was set for the "Battle of Constantine," and perhaps the preliminary outlines were thrown upon the plaster for the execution of that subject. When the labours of Giulio and his partners were resumed after the accession of Clement VII., the passion for oil painting had cooled down, the priming of Raphael was cleared away, the allegories of Justice and Comity remained, and the rest of the hall was completed in fresco.†

The fine impersonation of Justice, seated in a graceful attitude, with a pair of scales in her left hand, and her right arm round the neck of an ostrich, certainly deserves Bibiena's encomium; it is undoubtedly better than any single figure in the Camera dell' Incendio, or even the Lodge of the Farnesina, if we except those parts which we have ventured to assign to

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\* Seb. del Piombo to Michaelangelo, Rome, Oct. 27, 1520, *u. s.* in Gotti's *Michaelangelo* i. pp. 137-8.

† Vas., *Life of Giulio Romano*, x. p. 91.

Raphael himself. Though little was done by the master himself, we are bound to believe that he superintended the drawing of the cartoon, and carefully watched its repetition on the plaster. The loose drapery is grandly thrown round the body and limbs, leaving half the bosom, as well as the arms and feet, bare. The frame and head are turned to the right, the latter in sharp profile, with a diadem and helmet covering the hair, which is trimmed in plaits woven together with ribbons. The impression which we receive from an art matured to a point of grace thus highly wrought is less powerful than that produced by the simplicity or severity of conception, or the masculine gravity conspicuous in the "Virtues" of Giotto at Padua, of Andrea Pisano at Florence, or Ambrogio Lorenzetti at Sienna, but nevertheless the figure is noble, as only a painter of the 16th century could make it.\* "Comity," a matron, sits enthroned in a sidelong position, with a diadem on her forehead, and long tresses wound together with a veil falling to her shoulders. Parts of her form are exposed; one hand rests on the bosom, the left leg reposes on the head of a lamb. More dignified and staid than the "Justice," the whole allegory reveals a closer attention to minutiae of treatment on Raphael's part, than the "Justice."† There are bits of modelling and blended

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\* *Justice.* The only injury that time has inflicted on this wall picture in oil is that the pigments have been slightly changed by chemical action. The only sketch

noted in books is one in the Savigny collection at Berlin, which the authors have not seen.

† *Comity.* This wall painting has also suffered from the darken-



harmonies of tone in both figures which alone would betray the master's hand, and these it is possible to define, as the wheaten flesh, varying in scale from tender light to opal green half-tone, and warm brown shadow, the peachy cheek and vermilion lips, or the sparkle of the hair and diadems, and the tunics and mantle.

Assuming that the weaknesses of Giulio and Penni are partly concealed under their master's touches, the work as a whole is still beneath the best that Raphael could yield, though far superior to the very finest of his disciples' productions in the period of their independent practice.

It is characteristic of the conscientiousness and care with which Raphael proceeded, even in the year which immediately preceded his death, that he did not hesitate to take upon himself the labour of making the studies for single fragments intended to form part of a large composition. There are academy drawings from the nude for different sections of the "Battle of Constantine," which go far to prove that he had determined the position of several of the combatants, and the action which they were to assume. Amongst the incidents of the fight one is a contest between fugitives from the field and a party of armed boatmen. A swimmer has clung to the sides of the vessel and thrown his legs over the thwarts, and is only prevented from saving himself completely by the menace of a thrust from an armed captain in front of him.

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ing of the surface of its pigments  
and their shrinking. Some parts  
have scaled away, others are

bleached. Especially damaged is  
the lower part of the figure.

As he clings desperately to the planks, his waist is encircled by a youth who hangs on to him in despair. The swimmer and drowning man are separately drawn from life in one of Raphael's sheets at Oxford.\* They are taken from the same model as a naked soldier, and his companion who shields him from attack, which though not used in the fresco may yet have been originally intended for it.† Another finished study for a fallen soldier in the Chatsworth Collection, if not acceptable as the genuine outcome of the master's pencil, would still, if a copy, show his untiring devotion to the minutest details of a picture which he was not destined to complete.‡ It is not to be doubted that these and similar sheets, combined perhaps with a scratch sketch of the whole composition, were put into the hands of a disciple who formed them all into a great design, which with some varieties was afterwards carried on to the wall, and now hangs, appropriately attributed to Polidoro da Caravaggio, in the collection of the Louvre.

With some slight differences of position in figures the design and the fresco are similar in general lines. Two thirds of the picture are filled by the charge of

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\* Oxford Mus., No. 143. 10½ in. h. by 14½. Black and white chalk on light brown paper. This is a study of two nudes, one entire clinging to the boat, the other finished only as regards the back and right arm.

† Oxford Mus., Nos. 135 and 136. See *postea*, and the arras for the "Resurrection." Another study,

perhaps for this fresco, engraved by A. Bartsch, appears to have existed;—a pen sketch of nude fighting men, two of whom are on horseback, one presenting his back, others showing only their heads.

‡ Chatsworth. Red chalk, representing the fallen captain with the fragment of a truncheon in his hand near the dead Maxentius.

the victor with his armed array through the serried ranks of his opponent, who lies head foremost and lifeless on the banks of the Tiber. Constantine, poising his spear, has come safe through the press. The *mêlée* is still kept up on the left by those who closed again after he passed,—a hand-to-hand contest between foot and cavalry, to the sound of horns blown by trumpeters in rear of a line of standard-bearers. Steeds are kicking, galloping, struggling, or stricken down; men with lances and swords attack or defend; some fight for dear life, others attempt to avert the death-stroke by feebler efforts, others again are dead or dying, and here and there a legionary strives to carry off the body of a friend. Leaving all this behind, the Emperor prances forward, and tramples victoriously over prostrate foes, chief amongst whom, Maxentius is seen with his limbs on the shore, and his body and arms overhanging the stream. At his side lies a dead chief, who still grasps the remnant of his truncheon, whilst yet another turns to regain the bank which his charger refuses to climb. Angels float over the battle-field, and guide Constantine to victory. A boat-load of soldiers on the river receives the arrows of archers, whose shafts have penetrated the planks and make the craft founder. Another boat still has occupants bent on resistance; they threaten with their weapons the fugitives who seek to board them. In the water to the right a rider and his horse are drowning; and behind all this, we see the arches of the Milvian bridge, with the legions hurrying across. The clear space in front of Constantine is one of the

parts of the fresco in which we detect a change from the arrangement set forth in the drawing of Polidoro. That drawing, undoubtedly formed from Raphael's directions, and subsequently corrected by his orders, was the groundwork for the cartoon which Giulio, with all the sketches and studies before him, carried on to the wall in the time of Pope Clement VII.\* The finest contrast in the picture is that of the close fight on one side, and the looser incidents of combat or flight on the other. There is perhaps more movement and a more subtle intertress in Lionardo's "Fight for the Standard." Raphaël is more measured, and disposed to greater symmetry, than his friend. He conveys less strongly than Da Vinci the idea of conflict, desperate and hand to hand; he shows less passion. Notwithstanding all this, his battle piece

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\* *Battle of Constantine.* Louvre. Black chalk, retraced with pen and ink, then washed in bistre and white. The differences between this drawing and the fresco have been indicated correctly by Passavant (ii. p. 471). The angels in the sky are only put in with the point of a brush. The sinking boat to the right contains two figures more than there are in the fresco. Constantine is a little more in advance. There are three flags, afterwards reduced to one. The drawing is supposed to be identical with that described by Malvasia (Felsina, Pittrice), and subsequently bought by Crozat at the sale of the Boschi Collection at Bologna. Sold to a Russian amateur by Crozat's heirs,

it was bought for the Louvre in 1852.

Ambrosiana. Milan. Fragment of cartoon, much patched and worn, but still showing the marks of the prickings. 2 ft. 4 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. h. by 7 ft. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. The group here represented is that to the right of Constantine, with the two horsemen holding the severed heads of their enemies, and a soldier pointing to Maxentius. Further, the horseman defending himself against his enemy, and some of the archers and men in the background. Passavant assigns this fragment to Raphael, but the hand is that of Giulio Romano, rather concealed in places by superposed pigments.

will remain a monument imperishably connected with his name, a magnificent arrangement, equally grand in distribution and combination of lines, variety of grouping, and life-like energy of action; a splendid manifestation of power in the production of form ideally proportioned, and admirably rendered in its foreshortenings. The dead captain with the broken truncheon, at the side of Maxentius, will be recognized as the model which we saw in a drawing at Chatsworth. A soldier in scale armour on the left foreground who raises the body of a young standard-bearer will strike us as being directly taken from an antique, whilst a group of men all striking at a fallen rider to the right behind Constantine will be found on a relief of the Column of Trajan. A brawny man still astride of his prostrate charger, and parrying the lance of his opponent, recalls a similar incident produced by Michaelangelo. The fallen one immediately to the right, who still strikes as he stoops in the saddle, is with equal cleverness adapted from Lionardo's "Fight for the Standard." The horses too, with their powerful haunches, twisted tails, and spirited heads, will appear derived from the same source, though they hardly differ from those which Raphael himself embodied, after Donatello, in his pictures of St. George; his sketches at Sienna, or his fresco of Attila. It was quite natural that Raphael, with his well-known gifts, should combine reminiscences of his own early practice with elements subsequently derived from the antique, Da Vinci, and Buonarrotti; and it would have been unwise of him,

if in dealing with such a subject he had not looked at the Arch of Constantine, to obtain from its bas-reliefs the very form of the Emperor, his legionaries, or their weapons and characteristic types and dress.\*

A minute description of the remaining frescos of the Hall of Constantine would serve to illustrate the lives of Raphael's disciples rather than his own. A short account of posthumous works of this class will show what each of them contributed to the general effectiveness of this finely decorated space. It may be sufficient here to note that there is reason to think that the "Vision of Constantine" was executed by Giulio Romano with some help from Gian. Francesco Penni; that the "Baptism" was painted by Penni with occasional assistance from Giulio; the "Cession of Rome," by Raphael del Colle under Giulio's direction. The Popes in the niches were due to the joint labours of the three masters conjointly, the allegories in the pilasters to Del Colle alone, the monochromes of the skirting to Polidoro da Caravaggio, and the subjects in the embrasures of the windows to Perino del Vaga. Whether in any case the designs were invented by Raphael or not remains

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\* A clever wax relief of the battle of Constantine was, for a time, in possession of Signor Moisé Supino, at Pisa. It corresponds exactly with the fresco, from which it may have been copied by one of the stucco modellers who laboured at the Loggie. It cannot be considered as a model from which the fresco was done, as appears sug-

gested in a pamphlet by Francesco Passerini, Pisa, 1863, called *Memoria Supplementaria alla Notizia sulla Vita, &c. di Raffaello*, scritta dal Cav. E. Breton, p. 5. The size of this wax model is m. 0.05 h. by 0.24. Some of the heads, *ex. gr.* that of Constantine, mutilated.

a moot point, but it may be considered probable that several sketches were hastily thrown off by Raphael, from which his journeymen afterwards made up a certain number of pictures, in which the original scheme of the master was kept or altered according as men no longer under any supreme control might think fit to exercise their own unbiassed judgment. That in many instances the compositions suffered from unfortunate interpolations will be manifest to any one who studies the frescos of the Hall of Constantine.

According to a tradition of doubtful antiquity the tapestries of the Consistorial Hall at the Vatican were ordered by Francis I. of France, and offered by him as a present to Leo X. Records have since proved that Leo was dead before they were completed, and that Clement VII. paid 20,000 ducats for their production.\* "The Nativity," which may be considered an early number of the series, was delivered in 1531, and experts of the time were alone in their opinion that the weaving of it was superior to that of the Sixtine collection.† One piece of arras only is known in which the original design can be traced to the master's hand, and that is the "Coronation of the Virgin," which was only used to adorn the altar of the Sixtine Chapel in the 18th century. It was commonly believed in more modern times that this tapestry had been destroyed or lost. But chance

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\* A. Bertolotti, in Müntz's Raphael, p. 500.

† Müntz, *u. s.*, *ib. ib.*

brought it to light in 1873,\* and it was then found that the weaving and embroidery had been executed by order of Cardinal Evrard de la Marck, who gave the arras to Paul III.†

A mere glance will suffice to prove that Raphael's design was only taken in its general lines, by some person desirous of flattering Leo X. Raphael had composed a subject illustrative of the might of the Papacy. The saints whom he introduced into his drawing were St. Peter and Paul; the person who ordered the cartoon substituted St. John the Baptist and St. Jerome—the first, to indicate Leo X.'s christian name, the second to recall his title as a pontiff. The cartoon probably remained unused at Brussels after Leo's death. The personal allusions which it contained were perhaps forgotten when Cardinal Evrard made his present to Paul III. and caused that Pope's arms to be worked into the tapestry.

We may regret that the masterly design which Raphael produced for the "Coronation of the Virgin" should not have been enlarged for a cartoon, and woven in cloth on the master's lines. Taken alone this magnificent piece, now in the Oxford Museum, is worth a pilgrimage. There is nothing in common between it and the earlier form of the "Coronation" at the Vatican, though generally speaking, the action of the two principal figures is that which tradition preserved for centuries in Italy. A curious feature is the absence

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\* Palliard, in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, for July, 1873.  
† Müntz, *Raphael*, p. 497. De la Marck was promoted to the cardinal's hat in 1520, and died in 1537.



of sky on the one hand, and a vacant space beneath the Virgin and Christ on the other. The throne is one of those large *sedilia* for which the Venetians had a special fondness, a frame-work of panellings bound together with pilasters, consoles, cornices, and side balustrades. On the bench within the latter, Christ sits in ample drapery, with the cincture which he raises, in his right hand, whilst he rests the left on his knee. His face, in profile and slightly bearded, is dignified and serene. Mary, facing the Redeemer, is also clad in large draperies, the veil which covers the profile of her head falling over her shoulders in graceful lines. Like her Son, she bends forward, with the same reverence and humility as we observe in the Virgin of the "Disputa." The bare feet of both figures are admirably drawn. On the ground, at the sides of the throne, St. Peter stands showing himself in full front, his body in slight profile. He holds the book and keys, and heads an attendance of his compeers, of which one is distinguishable as St. Jerome in a cardinal's hat. To the right, St. Paul, in profile, supports the gospels with his left hand, and rests his right on the hilt of a long sword. Of his three companions, only one is completely portrayed.\* The impression which this grand pen drawing creates is that of confident power. The finished part is the group of Christ and Mary; the saints are thrown off with rapid and careless strokes, yet the result is breadth beyond the common, drapery of monumental

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\* Oxford. No. 121. Pen drawing. 13½ in. h. by 11½.

amplitude, dignity equal to that of the best creations of the "Disputa," and all realized with a facility which was more conspicuous in Raphael's later years than in the period of his first coming to Rome. As a natural consequence of this facility, some of the candour and severity of the earlier time is sacrificed.\*

In the tapestry many, nay, most of the beauties of the drawing are tamed down and lost. The attitudes and movements of Christ and Mary are preserved, but the Virgin's face is drawn at three-quarters, and the Saviour's head is varied in bend. St. Peter and St. Paul have vanished, and in their stead are the Baptist, vaguely reminiscent of the same figure in the "Madonna di Foligno," and St. Jerome with his lion, somewhat feebly delineated. Two angels reading from a scroll in the foreground are varieties of those in the "Madonna del Baldacchino." Above the arms of the throne, two angels raise the curtains of a daïs, and above the coronation, the Eternal gives his blessing in a cloud supported by angels.

The arras of the second series was worked from

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\* A pupil of Marcantonio engraved this tapestry. A black and white sketch of the subject without the Almighty, in the Ambrosiana at Milan, may have been executed from the print or from its original design. It is not without interest to note that amongst groups of cupids, which may still be seen in one of the rooms of the Villa Madama, erected near Rome for Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, under Raphael's

superintendence, there is one representing two boys, apparently taken from the same design as the tapestry by Giovanni da Udine. Gambols of children in the same form and feeling are repeated in the tapestries representing winged cupids, engraved by the Master of the Die (Pass., ii. 225). All this suggests some connection between the arras of the second series and Giovanni da Udine (see also Vas., ix., p. 33).

cartoons of which numerous fragments are still in existence. But none of these fragments exhibit any higher power than that which may be conceded to the disciples of Raphael. The most favourable opinion that can be expressed respecting their artistic value would be that they bear the impress of Raphael's school, though altered in character by Belgian and Flemish embroiderers.

We may presume that Raphael furnished the first impression or idea for some numbers of the series to Giulio Romano. But this would hardly be true of them all. The whole set was executed from designs by Raphael's pupils, who only used such figures or groups by Raphael himself as had previously served in the frescos of the Vatican, the cartoons, the "Transfiguration," or Marcantonio's "Massacre of the Innocents." When Raphael died, Giulio and Penni inherited his practice and completed his commission. But even they were unable to master all the work required of them, and they doubtless employed Giovanni da Udine and other deputies to deliver the set in its finished state.\*

But Raphael was busy with other monumental work at the period of his studies for the Hall of Constantine and the second series of arras, and though Roman annals tell us little as to the exact time when the Pope's hunting-seat at the Magliana was adorned with pictures, records preserved in the Vatican show that Giovanni

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\* For a more minute description of this series of arras, see notes of Raphael's posthumous works, *postea*.

Francesco da San Gallo was employed there as an architect from 1519 to 1521.\*

The hunting villa of the Magliana is about six miles from the Porta Portese on the road which leads through the Tiber valley to Fiumicino. Approaching the buildings from a point where the stream of the Magliano is crossed by a bridge, one sees at no great distance the stone enclosure of a court with a crenelated wall to which an arched gate gives access. Inside, the dwellings are of unequal height and varied architecture, some being traceable to the papacy of Innocent VIII., others to the reigns of Julius and Leo. Julius was the first to combine religion and pleasure by enlarging the house for the accommodation of guests, and building a chapel to remind them of prayer; what Leo X. added is uncertain.† But this much is positive, that he was fonder of the place than any of his predecessors. Frequent allusions are made to it in the diary of Paris de Grassis, who wrote that the Pope transferred himself with all the instruments of the chase to the Magliana, in November, 1519, and remained there a month, returning only once to Rome to attend a mass at the Sixtine. It was here

\* 1519, 18 Aprile. "A m<sup>o</sup> Gio. Francesco da San Gallo, duc. di camera 100 per parte della gazara de la Melliana. A dì 7 Maio duc. 200 per finir la detta gazara. A dì 7 Marzo, 1521, duc. 900 per conductura et manufactura di lavori facti et da farsi in la Manliana per murare. A dì 18 Nov., duc. 100 per la fabrica della Manliana." Spogli Vaticani, by A. Rossi, in

Giorn. d' Erud., u. s. vi. p. 206.

† The chapel was built under the superintendence of Cardinal Alidosi, whose name is inscribed above the entrance, and whose arms were emblazoned on the glazed bricks of the floor. Alidosi, it will be recollected, was killed after the battle of Ravenna by Francesco Maria of Urbino (1511).

that the pontiff caught the chill which carried him off on the 1st of December, 1521.\* The greatest uncertainty exists as to Raphael's share in the decoration of the place or the period when it was painted. The wall decorations which adorned the chapel were mutilated and finally sawn from the walls in 1859. The fresco of the "Eternal" was purchased for the French government in 1869, and is now exhibited at the Louvre.† In the lunettes of the walls there were compositions of the "Annunciation," the "Visitation," and the "Martyrdom of St. Cecilia," but it is curious and worthy of remark that the forms displayed in some of the series differ from those which characterize the rest, yet that the manual treatment of the whole is attributable to a single hand.‡

Properly speaking the pictures of the Magliana are illustrations of Spagna, rather than of Raphael. The "Annunciation" and the "Visitation" appear to have been executed from cartoons furnished by Perugino, the "Martyrdom" and the "Eternal" from designs by Raphael. A drawing at Dresden representing the execution of St. Cecilia answers alike to the fresco of the Magliana and a print by Marcantonio, but the state to which it has been brought by wear and repainting precludes a fair judgment as to its merits or originality.§ The "Eternal" is equally if not more

\* P. de Grassis, *u. s.* iii. pp. 845-6 and 920.

† It was purchased for 250,000 francs, which were voted by the French Constituent Assembly on the 25th of July, 1873.

‡ The frescos were first seen by the authors in Santa Cecilia at Rome.

§ *Martyrdom of St. Cecilia.* Dresden Print Room. Pen drawing washed with sepia, heightened

Raphaelic, but the designs for it are lost; yet, if we should venture an opinion, it would be that the figure of God the Father with its mandorla and cherubs' heads, and the two winged angels who cast flowers from the clouds, must have been designed by Raphael about the period which intervened between his return from Florence in 1516, and his death in 1520.

There are reminiscences in the fresco of a drawing in the Venice sketch-book, as well as of the angel shedding sprays in the "Holy Family" of 1518 at the Louvre, and the winged fairies in the "Feast of the Gods" at the Farnesina, every one of which presupposes some acquaintance with the gleeful beings which float about the sky in a celebrated picture of Botticelli.\* That Raphael should have entrusted the duty of transcribing his figures on the wall to Spagna, would seem natural enough, since other assistants were too obviously busy elsewhere, and Spagna would commend himself to him by recollections of early days at Perugia. It may be sufficient to have touched thus lightly here on a subject which has been carefully studied in an extant account of the works of Spagna.†

We had occasion to allude to the Villa Madama, as an edifice planned by Raphael at the bidding of Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, and often cited as evidence of Raphael's competence as an architect. This villa is

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with white, from the Winkler collection at Leipzig.

A copy of this drawing on blue paper is in the Albertina at Vienna.

\* Florence, Acad. of Arts. "Coronation of the Virgin," by Sandro Botticelli.

† History of Italian Painting, vol. iii. p. 314.

described by Vasari as one of those which Raphael founded and left unfinished at his death, and it seems to have been considered probable that the master, who superintended its erection, also invented its pictorial decoration.\* No doubt the design in its general lines was Raphael's, who employed Antonio Picconi da San Gallo to draft the details. Baldassare Castiglione told Isabella Gonzaga, in June, 1519, "that the Reverend Medici was building a villa which promised to be most beautiful, and which Leo X. often went to see, on the slopes of Monte Mario."† Raphael himself wrote a description of the edifice as he thought it would appear when finished, and addressed it to Castiglione, who alludes to the fact in a letter to Francesco Maria della Rovere in 1522.‡ Serlio tells us that the parts which were finished in 1520 were the portico of three colonnades which still exists, and one of the apartments in rear of the portico.§ But all this has reference to architectural features rather than to pictorial decorations. The paintings of Polyphemus with Jove and Ganymede, Pluto and Proserpine, and Juno and Neptune on cars drawn by peacocks and horses, in the lunettes of the portico, are creations of Giovanni da Udine under the superintendence of Giulio Romano, whilst the ornaments of some of the rooms, in which there are allegories of the sun and moon, and gambols

\* See *antea*, p. 251; Vas. viii. pp. 42 and 242.

† B. Castiglione to Isabella Gonzaga, Rome, June 16, 1519, in the archives of Mantua, partly printed in *Il Raffaello*, Rome,

Sept. 20, 1876.

‡ B. Castiglione to Francesco Maria, Rome, Aug. 13, 1522, in Pungileoni, *Raph.*, u. s. pp. 181-2.

§ Serlio, *Cinque Libri di Architettura*: fol. Ven. 1551, Libro iii.

of children in the midst of festoons of fruit and flowers, are clearly the product of the same pencil.\*

• Villa Madama. This building, though still in existence, is in a state of great dilapidation. The colonnade or vestibule facing the north-east is a portico of three archings, with furnace vaultings, in which painted ornament and subjects are combined in the form adopted by Raphael for the Vatican Loggie and the bath-room of Cardinal Bibiena. Vasari says, with apparent truth, that the decorative work in the vigna was under the superintendence of Gio. da Udine, whose chief was Giulio Romano. In the first cupola, the first lunette is filled with a figure of the recumbent Polyphemus looking up to a vision of satyrs and bacchante dancing in the distant opening of a deep grotto. In the giant's left hand, which crosses his breast, are the Pan's pipes; at his feet several figures, one of them bending over his left foot. Though much of this fresco is obliterated, enough remains to reveal the hand of Giulio, and recall his figures of giants in the Palazzo del Té, at Mantua. The central cupola is decorated with four subjects in compartments enframed amidst ornaments in painting and stucco, Jupiter and Ganymede, Pluto and Proserpine, Neptune on the sea in a car drawn by four horses, Juno on a chariot to which peacocks are harnessed. Of these, the Jupiter and Neptune are most like work by Giulio, yet the execution is like that of the Pluto and Juno, and points to Giovanni da

Udine, whose pen-drawing for the latter, washed in bistre and heightened with white, is now in the Albertina at Vienna. The next cupola, too, though inferior in workmanship to the central one, is by the same hand, and studies for the cupids surrounding Venus in a garden, a subject which Titian treated so ably for the Duke of Ferrara, are preserved in the Academy of Düsseldorf, where we easily detect the pleasant but not very spirited art of Giovanni da Udine. (This drawing at Düsseldorf is ascribed to Raphael.)

In one room of the villa, a frieze of slight interest is preserved. Another room contains a decorated ceiling with the Medici arms in the centre, and painted figures, in rounds, of Luna and Apollo on chariots, alternating with stucco figures of Apollo and Hercules. Small framings in the intervals of the rounds are filled with classic subjects. A frieze runs round the room, and the walls are divided by candelabra, and festoons, and baskets of fruit, about which cupids are sporting in couples. Two of these cupids have much analogy with the angels represented in the "Coronation of the Virgin" of the arras of Raphael's second series. Indeed all these figures of boys recall those of the so-called tapestries of the Popes, of which engravings have been preserved, which seem to indicate the connection of Giovanni da Udine with these productions.



In the midst of these occupations Raphael still found time for things which involved a close personal attendance and frequent application of his own manual labour. He had made slow progress with the "Transfiguration," which had always been mentioned by himself as the cause of his prolonged neglect of the Duke of Ferrara's orders. But he was not unmindful, even then, of the profit which might accrue from altar-panels, ostensibly painted by himself, yet in reality by assistants. The collection of pieces which he brought together under these circumstances were shown, as we saw, to Paulucci, whose range of acquirements hardly enabled him to detect that there was some difference between a genuine Raphael and a panel by Raphael's journeymen. That Paulucci sincerely admired the "Madonna della Perla," and the "Madonna under the Oak," is more than probable. No one who examines these Holy Families with a critical eye can fail to discern that they are not distinguishable from work by Giulio Romano.

The "Madonna of the Pearl" at Madrid received its name from a Spanish King who considered it the most precious jewel in his collection. Quoted by Vasari as a genuine Raphael in the collection of the Counts of Canossa at Verona, it was, perhaps, the picture which Baldassare Castiglione assigned to Raphael and took with him when he left Rome for Mantua in December, 1520.\* How it passed into the hands of the Counts of Canossa is unknown.

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\* B. Castiglione, to his mother, | Mantuan Painters, vol. ii. p. 87;  
Rome, Dec. 29, 1520, in Darco's | Vas. viii. 32.

They treasured it as a prize from the days of Vasari till the opening of the 17th century, when, there is reason to think, it was sold to Cardinal Luigi d'Este, who gave it to Catherine Sforza, countess of Santa Fiore.\* That Vincenzo, Duke of Mantua, afterwards obtained the masterpiece from the Sforza, has been almost proved by circumstantial evidence.† It came by purchase into the collection of Charles I. of England, and thence to Alonzo de Cardenas, who bought it for the King of Spain.‡

The composition has a close affinity to those which Andrea del Sarto learnt to form on the lines of Lionardo da Vinci, though it is scarcely equal to some of his pieces in distribution and harmony of contour. We can fancy Raphael forming the subject in a sketch of the Florentine period, and leaving it to be shaped and carried out by Giulio Romano at Rome. Mary is represented sitting on a rise of ground behind a stone cradle, upon which the Infant Saviour stands with his right leg across his mother's knee. She supports the boy with her right hand, and looks at the Baptist presenting an offering of fruit. Her left arm rests on the shoulders of St. Elisabeth, who watches the Redeemer as he takes the offering and

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\* Correspondence of the Prelate Sommaia, Cod. 27, classe 8, in the Magliabecchiana at Florence, exc. by Marquis Campori in "Gli Artisti Italiani e stranieri e negli Stati Estensi:" 8vo, Mod., p. 434.

† Campori, Not., &c., per la Vita di Gio. Santi e di Raf., u. s. p. 11. Daniel Nys in a letter to

Endymion Porter, Venice, May 12, 1639. Sainsbury (Original Papers illust. of the life of Rubens, 8vo, London, 1859, p. 326) says that "the Duke of Mantua gave a marquise worth 50,000 scudi for Raphael's Madonna del Canozzo."

‡ *Ib.*, and Antonio Ponz. Viage de España, i. p. 73.

looks up at the Virgin. The group, of polygonal shape, appears relieved on one side by the dark ground in rear of which a large tree overshadows a ruin like that of the basilica of Constantine or the baths of Diocletian; on the other side by a landscape divided by a river spanned by a stone bridge. On the further bank of the stream are massive edifices; on the near bank, the columns of a fallen temple, to which a road, running on arched buttresses, leads. A winding track, in the middle distance, shows a bullock cart driven by a rustic. Out of the ruins to the left, St. Joseph is seen walking and guiding his steps with a staff. The light is that of early morning, throwing the figures into alternate brilliancy and gloom against the shadows of the ruin or the bright aurora of the sky.

That Raphael, and Raphael alone, could have produced an arrangement so harmonious is evident. There are reminiscences of the "Virgin of the Palm," and the "Holy Family" at Pesth, in the movements of the Madonna and Christ, which take us back to the period of Raphael's practice at Florence. But gorgeous dress and sandalled feet recall the Roman time, and technically the execution differs from that of the master, and betrays the manner of Giulio, whose burnished handling, impaired by accidents, is not enlivened with a single one of Raphael's finishing touches.\* Giulio sufficiently showed how thoroughly

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\* *Virgin of the Pearl.* Madrid Museum. No. 369. Wood, transferred to canvas. M. 1.44 h. by

1.15. King Joseph carried off this picture to Paris in 1813, and it was restored to the Escorial in 1822,

he had mastered the group when he produced the celebrated adaptation of it which is known as the "Madonna della Gatta" in the Museum of Naples.

The tree which overshadows the ruins in the "Madonna della Perla" becomes a prominent feature in the "Holy Family under the Oak," its companion picture in the gallery of Madrid. The trunk of the oak, rising in the centre of the composition, vertically divides it into two parts. Ivy creeps along the bark ;

after having been taken from its original panel and stretched on new canvas. The surface has been altered by time, the flesh has become opaque and dark in shadow ; the drawing of the legs of the Baptist is false, that of the drapery feeble ; but the dress tints are strong and gaudy. If the texture and modelling did not of themselves betray the hand of Giulio Romano, we should detect the fact from the small design of the composition which passed out of the collection of the late Dr. Wellesley at Oxford into that of Mr. Malcolm of Poltalloch. The drawing is injured and restored and sketched in with charcoal, subsequently lined with a pen and ink in Giulio's manner. The Virgin's head, No. 676 at Lille, is ill preserved and not a Raphael. It is torn and patched in three places, drawn in black chalk stumped to a finish with white chalk lights. The head of St. Anna in reverse, No. 130 in the Oxford Gallery, is drawn in red chalk with the eyes open instead of looking down. It reminds us of Andrea del Sarto rather than of Raphael or Giulio.

In the Berlin Museum we found a copy of the two children in outline, on two sides of a sheet, a red chalk drawing of a comparatively modern character. The sketch of a Virgin with two children at Chatsworth, mentioned by Passavant (ii. p. 252) is not a design for the "Virgin of the Pearl," but for the "Virgin of the Rose," No. 370 at Madrid.

The celebrity which the "Madonna della Perla" acquired is shown in a number of copies ; *ex. gr.*, one by Taddeo Zuccaro for the Duke of Urbino, which is not to be traced (Vas., xii. p. 110) and the following :—England : H. C. Oakover, Esq., of Oakover Hall, Derbyshire ; Manchester Exhibition, No. 139, feeble, and erroneously ascribed to Giulio. Venice : Prince Giovanelli. This copy originally belonged to the Doge Manin, is smaller than the original, and may be assigned to Perino del Vaga. Venice : Acad. Pinac. Contarini. Old, but also smaller than the original and of dark, dull tone. Escorial : Two feeble copies, one of them attributed to the Spaniard Santos.

the boughs and foliage stretch, fan-like, over the space. To the left a fountain occupies the middle ground; above it are the remains of the basilica of Constantine, on a hill sloping to the valley of the Tiber. Sandals on the Virgin's feet remind us of the time when pagan dress was still worn, but the fall of paganism is indicated by a broken pillar which lies on its sculptured base on the right foreground, and the carved work of a bas-relief representing Bacchic figures near it. The subject bears a close relation to that of the Perla, being a repetition, from a new point of view, of the Virgin sitting near a stone cradle, with the Infant Christ standing on its cushions and resting one leg across the Virgin's knee. The child again looks up at his mother, whilst he stoops to take a scroll from the Baptist, inscribed with the words—"Ecce Agnus Dei." John has climbed with one foot on the bed to present the scroll, and Mary's glance is on them both as she leans her left arm on the bas-relief behind which her husband stands. In the shape and air of Joseph we recognize the pensiveness, the rugged power, and much of the attitude of the same personage stroking his chin in the "Holy Family" of 1518. On the end of the cradle Raphael's name is written in Roman capitals, and yet not a single touch is visible that can be assigned to him. It was a privilege which the great artist enjoyed, to issue under his seal productions for which he might have contributed but a mere thought or the slightest of sketches. There is a worldliness in the grasp and presentment of the subject, a mixture of Raphael's

grace in his Tuscan period with an affectation of splendour in attire traceable to his Roman time, and vestiges of the influence of Michaelangelo in the St. Joseph, which all betray the hand of Giulio. But Giulio under Raphael was quite a different being from Giulio as a master on his own account: the name on the picture is only so far justified, that the treatment is better, the taste more pure, than we find them in canvases executed by the disciple after Raphael's death. The characteristic test by which we distinguish assistants' work from that of the chief is the absence of variety, subtlety, and spirit in surfaces otherwise marked by polished rounding and finish. Coldness and uniformity, grainless burnish, and crude contrasts of bright colours, are foreign to Raphael at all times. In earlier days he would have furnished a small cartoon, and worked in the last pencil strokes himself. Now, Giulio evidently sketched a group from a fugitive first thought taken from Raphael's portfolio. He left the preparation to Penni and Giovanni da Udine, who painted the figures and the architectural detail, leaving the last touches to be put in by the head of the painting room.\* It was suffi-

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\* *Madonna under the Oak.* Madrid Mus. No. 371. Wood. M. 1·44 h. by 1·10. Signed on the cradle RAPHAEL PINX. The history of this picture is obscure. Its state is not good. The tints generally are somewhat raw from the loss of the last finesses which have been cleaned away, especially in the Virgin's face and right hand. Elsewhere the colours have

darkened, and chiefly so in the landscape. Best preserved are the St. Joseph and the leafage of the tree. Some parts are injured by repainting, such as the chin, right arm, and right leg of the Infant Christ, and the torso and limbs of St. John.

A considerable number of copies of this Holy Family exist, none of them equal to the original.

cient in those days that a composition should have the repute of coming directly from Raphael's Palace, to ensure its popularity and make adaptations of it desirable. Giulio therefore executed, almost simultaneously with the "Virgin under the Oak," the smaller and more compact version of the same subject in the Madrid Museum.

The Virgin "of the Rose"—as this version is now called—owes its name to an accident. Mary is seen in half-length, sitting in a room with the Infant Christ supported by her left hand, and one of his legs thrown across her knee. Bending forward with both arms outstretched, he draws a scroll out of the fingers of John, who stands to the left at the Virgin's side. She looks down with melancholy serenity at the children's play, whilst St. Joseph, in rear of John, appears clutching his mantle and absorbed in thought. As the picture presented itself after being altered by repainting, the Saviour's foot was set at rest on a parapet on which a rose was lying, and the object on which it originally reposed was obliterated. The modern parapet, foot, and rose were subsequently re-

Florence. Pitti. No. 57. Panel. 1.44 h. by 1.10. Erroneously assigned to Giulio Romano, dull, crude, and hard, with a glazed porcelain surface, sharp contours, and imperfect modelling.

Pesaro. Conte Vatielli. Same size as the foregoing—an old picture, but not by any known disciple of Raphael's school.

Hampton Court. Panel. By a feeble artist of the school of Giulio—much dimmed by time.

Hermitage. St. Petersburg. No. 43. Panel transferred to canvas. This copy is injured and stained and in parts re-painted. It looks dim and opaque in tone—of the same class as the immediately foregoing.

For other copies, now at Bologna, Urbino, Windsor, the Hague, and Valencia, see *Pass.* *u. s.* ii. 250, and *Malvasia*, *Felsina Pittrice*, i. p. 45.

moved, and much was done to restore the surface to its original brilliancy. Modern skill brought back some of the beauty of a panel executed with skill by Giulio Romano without revealing the active co-operation of Raphael.

It has been frequently conjectured in these pages that compositions of this kind were based on some early original sketch cleverly adapted by assistants. In the present instance we can trace with more than usual clearness the process by which Giulio realized his purpose. On an early Florentine sheet at the Albertina, Raphael had thrown together in a few hasty lines a group of the Virgin holding the Infant Saviour on her lap and receiving an offering from the boy Baptist. The head of Mary was indicated in two contrary movements by rapid strokes of a pen. Inverting this sketch, Giulio would obtain a group similar to that of the "Madonna of the Rose."\* But he was not constrained to make the effort. He found in the same portfolio another finished design of the same period, which gave the position of the Virgin and children exactly as he wanted them. In this drawing, which is one of the most graceful in the Queen's collection at Windsor, the relative positions of the three principal figures are, with slight exceptions, counterparts of those in Giulio's picture. The child stands on the Virgin's lap and clings with one arm to her shoulder, whilst she holds his left foot in her right hand. He grasps the end of the spiral

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\* Albertina. Scratchsketch with a pen; in the left hand upper corner are the head and right arm of a child.



scroll which the boy Baptist presents, and the Virgin's face is bent in lovely sympathy towards him.\* Giulio Romano, in a rapid sepia water-colour at Chatsworth, remodelled the group on a larger scale. The Infant Saviour receives with both hands the strip of parchment which the boy Baptist holds up to him with one.† We see at a glance the whole method of proceeding. Raphael's portfolios were searched for two of his oldest models. With these as guides, a sketch was rapidly made; and if Giulio failed to display either the clever rapidity of his master's first thought, or the beautiful feeling and finish of his second study, he succeeded in his own bold way in forming a picture into the background of which he afterwards introduced St. Joseph. The build of his figures was coarser than that of his prototype. His St. Joseph differed from the stern and masculine one conspicuous in the "Holy Family under the Oak," because of the age and gravity which Raphael had already combined in the "Madonna di Loretto." The result was something better painted and more spirited than earlier examples of the same kind, but less in the feeling of Raphael's Roman period, than in that of his Florentine days.‡

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\* Windsor. Royal Collection. Silver-point with washed white lights. 5½ in. h. by 4¾. Most carefully and beautifully finished.

† Chatsworth. Sepia and pen and ink sketch, washed with white in the light. The whole of the Infant Christ, the head of the Virgin, and the face and arm of

John, are given by Giulio in bold strokes.

‡ *Virgin of the Rose*. Madrid Museum. No. 370. Wood transferred to canvas. M. 1.03 h. by 0.84. The state to which this panel was reduced, when it was cut out and stretched on cloth, may still be seen by the patching

As time wore on, and Raphael's occupations absorbed so much of his leisure that his habit of confiding work exclusively to assistants became almost absolutely confirmed, pictures were composed, prepared, and finished without any other interference than a casual direction and a very general superintendence; and it was under these circumstances that the "Visitation" of Madrid was painted for a relative of Giovanni Battista Branconio dell' Aquila, and the "Baptist" of the Uffizi for Cardinal Colonna. Though Vasari adds to this category of altar-pieces the "St. Margaret" of the Louvre, which he describes as having been taken from one of Raphael's designs by Giulio Romano,\* and modern authorities have

of three vertical splits. One of these runs down the cheek of Joseph, and severs the face of John into two equal parts. Another passes down the back of the Virgin's head, cutting the wrists and leg of the Infant Christ, and the arm of Mary. A third has scaled the hair, the ear, and shoulder of the Saviour and the hand which supports him. Both hands of St. Joseph are lost under retouching. The whole surface is embrowned, the flesh in a great measure dyed to a reddish tinge or flecked with spots. The obliteration of the modern additions of Christ's foot, and the rose and parapet, restored the picture to its first shape but not to its pristine condition.

In the numerous copies and adaptations made from the original no trace of the rose is to be found,

but changes are introduced which alter the character of the subject, viz.:—Ex-Munro-Novar Collection from the Charles I., Gwydir, Baring, and Nieuwenhuys collections, sold on June 1, 1878, for £3000, to Messrs. Agnew at the Novar sale. Here the distance is a ruin reminiscent of the Colosseum, and St. John is seen coming out of an archway with a lantern in his hand. The foot of the Saviour rests on a cushion, lying on the rocky ledge, upon which the Virgin is sitting. The execution is feebler than that of Giulio or even Penni, and suggests the co-operation of Bagnacavallo. Valladolid: Three copies without the parapet and rose. Dresden Museum: Round, with only the Virgin and two children.

\* Vas., x. p. 88.

registered in the same class a "St. Margaret" in the Vienna gallery, we shall venture to erase the "St. Margaret" from the register of works produced by Giulio Romano in Raphael's painting room, though it may be that they were executed on the lines of Raphaelic sketches which have not been preserved.\*

The "Visitation" at Madrid, inscribed with Raphael's name, and that of F. Marinus Branconius, was prepared for a place on the high altar of a brotherhood in the church of San Silvestro at Aquila. It was finished prior to the 2nd of April, 1520, when a decision taken by the town council of the city forbid all painters under any pretence whatever to make copies of Raphael's masterpiece. This order apparently remained in force till 1610, when it was repealed in favour of Giovanni Andrea Urbani of Urbino.† After the Sicilian vespers and the troubles which arose out of the revolutions of that period, the church of San Silvestro was deprived of its treasure by connivance of Pope Alexander VII., and Francesco Tellio de Leon, Spanish bishop of Aquila. The Duke of Laurito, who commanded the district for the King of Spain, received the panel from the bishop, and sent it to Madrid, where it

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\* Louvre. No. 379. Wood transferred to canvas. M. 1·78 h. by 1·22. The St. Margaret was restored by Primaticcio between 1537 and 1540, and was at Fontainebleau in 1589. See the account of Nicolas Picart in De Laborde's *Renaissance des Arts*, vol. i. p. 399.

Vienna. No. 51. Wood. 5 ft. h. by 3 ft. 10 in. The drawing for this picture by Giulio Romano, washed in Indian ink and white, is in the Teyler collection at Haarlem.

† See the order in notes to Pungileoni, *Raph.*, u. s., p. 120.

was added to the royal collection of the Escorial in 1655.\*

Nothing is more easy than to distinguish the touches of a master like Raphael from those of his disciples in pictures of which the manipulation has not been partially obliterated by subsequent repainting. The accidents which altered the appearance of the "Visitation" have been so serious in their character, that it would be presuming to say more than that Raphael's hand may possibly have been laid on the shaded profile of St. Elisabeth, whose head is enswathed in the folds of a turban, of which the loose ends run downward from the ear, and wind round the throat. As usual in the latest pieces which Raphael was willing to sign, the handling of his assistants is much better than that which they thought sufficient when left to their own resources. Taken as a whole, the "Visitation" is a superior work of Giulio Romano, yet too feeble for Raphael himself, and in this it differs essentially from the grand version of the same subject by Mariotto Albertinelli, which displays all the power acquired by that artist from his master Fra Bartolommeo.

Mary and Elisabeth meet in a landscape, the Virgin youthful, and not without a reminiscence of the beauty which radiates from the face of the St. Cecilia of Bologna. Her visitor is comely, but aged. The

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\* *Varie Vicende d' una Tavola di Raffaello.* Naples, 1881. By A. Leosini.

act of meeting is indicated by the women's stride and a shake of their right hands. Elisabeth engagingly raises her left arm to her friend's mantle: the Virgin rests her fingers on her waist. The first is a model ennobled by a certain elegance of movement; the second a wife deficient in some of the graces of feminine shape and gait. The fulness of some forms contrasts with the slenderness of others, and the absence of the true taste and innate feeling of the great master of Urbino is thus revealed. But if our interest wanes as we look at figures bright enough to please yet not sufficiently ideal to charm, it revives to some extent when we observe a broad landscape of a powerful and sunny tone, and episodes which recall earlier creations of Raphael and Perugino. The baptism of Christ forms a group on the bank of a river that winds in the distance, and God appears in the clouds with an escort of angels like the Eternal in the "Burning Bush" of the Camere, or the Redeemer in the "Vision of Ezechiel" at the Pitti.\*

Carried out under similar conditions and open to the same criticism as the "Visitation," the picture of the young Precursor is a contemporary creation

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\* Madrid Museum. No. 368. Wood transferred to canvas. M. 2 h. by 1.45. Three splits in the panel are revealed by threads of mending in lines, to the left, down the arm of the Eternal and the edge of Elisabeth's yellow mantle, in the centre through the sky and landscape and clasped

hands of the two women, and to the right through the eye and nose, the hand and dress of Mary. Both females wear sandals: their feet are injured by repainting, as are likewise the clasped hands, the ear, hair, and cheek of the Virgin. The whole surface has now a cold gloss.

at the Uffizi which strikes one as a fine presentment in the form of the Baptist of the "*Madonna dell' Impannata*."

The general idea which painters and their patrons had hitherto held was that St. John the Baptist in the desert should be represented as a wild inhabitant of the eastern wastes, with sinewy, lean, and muscular limbs, and unkempt locks and beard. Raphael imagined the Precursor as an inspired youth of fifteen, sitting on a rock in the desert, at the foot of a spring emblematic in its purity of the Christian faith, proclaiming with voice and gesture the light that was to come from the Cross. The rock, on which the saint is sitting with his face and frame in full front of the spectator, is clothed with grass, and interlaced with ivy. His right leg rests on the pebbly ground, whilst his left is raised on a stone, and the heel is lowered so as to show the foreshortened sole and toes. To the left a sapling has been cut by the young woodsman, and the trunk is bound to the reed cross which rises into the air above it, shedding a ray that illuminates the youth's frame, and casts into gloom the spring in the low land beyond, or the rocky boulder behind it. The rays also cause a projection of shadow from the right foot on the stone, and cast the left leg into half-tint. Additional contrast is produced by the darkness of the boulder being balanced against the serene sky and landscape of hills which forms the right side of the distance. There is something akin to inspiration in the open eye and speaking mouth of the saint. But the shape of the figure is muscular to

excess; the contours are more forcible than pleasing; the colour more strong than sweet; and the shape, though graceful, looks too consciously derived from an antique to be natural. Yet the original academy at the Uffizi which served as groundwork for the picture shows that Giulio Romano, who drew it, did not fail to consult nature before he proceeded to the more difficult task of painting, and the faults displayed and the impression produced can only be attributed to the absence of Raphael's feeling, and subtlety of treatment.

According to Vasari's account of this canvas, it was ordered by Cardinal Colonna, who gave it to Jacopo da Carpi, his medical attendant, in return for a cure which had saved his life. The picture subsequently passed into the hands of Francesco Benintendi,\* and

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\* Florence Uffizi. No. 1127. This canvas, 5 ft. 5 in. h. by 4 ft. 10 in., is catalogued in the Florentine inventory of 1589. It is no doubt that quoted by Vasari as a Raphael, whose original red chalk academy study, also at the Uffizi, in a mutilated condition (without a head), offers but few and inconsiderable varieties to distinguish it from the picture. It is noticeable that the drawing does not show the right foot ungracefully set on its heel, but more naturally down on the ground. In truth the drawing is superior in skill and finish to the picture itself. The same figure in the Albertina at Vienna is but a copy, but it is interesting to notice a variety of a similar model in red chalk,

sitting on a bench and supporting his arms with a staff and a sling, No. 734 in the Museum of Lille. Here the left foot is resting on the heel, the right on the ground; the style is that of Raphael in his latest years when he rendered form in the broadest manner. We note several copies of the picture. Rome. Borghese Collection. No. 69. Canvas of the same size as the original at Florence, assigned to Giulio Romano, but coloured in hot tones in the style of Dossi or Garofalo. Rome. Palazzo Spada. A poor copy, on canvas. Bologna. Pinacoteca. No. 210. Wood. An old copy but somewhat dull and crude in tone and dark in the shadows and sharp in outline. Petersburg. Countess

thence, about 1589, into the ducal collection at Florence. Cardinal Pompeo Colonna probably gave his commission for it after he was raised to the purple in July, 1517. But Raphael, we saw, was not willing to paint much in person when his patron was one to whom he felt but slightly bound by ties of friendship and interest; he therefore confided the execution of the "Baptist" to Giulio, who, perhaps, entrusted the preparation and distance to Penni. The result was a picture which showed some obvious marks of a Raphaelic origin, yet failed to bear the full impress of his inimitable genius.

The prelate to whom Raphael really looked with unalterable devotion in those days was Cardinal de' Medici,

Mordwinoff. An old copy on panel of the same size as the Florentine example, but of an uniform glazed tone suggestive of a Flemish origin. For other copies at Berlin, Darmstadt, in England, and in Spain, see Pasa., *Raph.*, ii. 289.

Amongst the varieties of this subject is the St. John of the Louvre, sitting sideways with legs far apart, pointing almost in profile to the cross on the right side of the canvas, but looking round at the spectator, and holding in his left hand a scroll. The surface of the pigments is so worn that the canvas is seen, and it is for that reason difficult to say whether the painter was Giulio Romano or another disciple of Raphael. A sketch academy, done with a rapid flourish of pen strokes and preserved as a Raphael at the British

Museum (Payne Knight collection), shows some affinity to the Louvre picture, but the style is too careless to warrant the attribution to Raphael. A coat of arms on the upper part of the background of the picture has been found to belong to Artus Gouffier and Gouffier-Tremouille. It is the cognizance of Claude Gouffier who owned the picture at Oiron in Poitou in 1532. The picture was afterwards given to Louis XIV. by the Marquis de la Feuillade. See B. Fillon in *Chronique des Arts*, 1867, p. 108. These works of Raphael are not to be confounded with others representing John Evangelist, one of which, on canvas in the Museum of Marseilles, is ascribed erroneously to "Rafaelle d' Urb.," the name inscribed in capitals at the feet of the figure.



in whose favour he was ready to exhaust the gifts which his long experience had enabled him to concentrate.

Raphael and Sebastian del Piombo had both been asked to compose important altar-pieces for the cardinal in 1517. The cunning churchman desired to profit by the rivalry of the two masters, or wished to obtain two pictures at the same time. Sebastian, who was less busy than his competitor, had entered into close relations with Michaelangelo in 1518, and borrowed from him a design and studies of single figures. He rapidly produced the "Raising of Lazarus;" and as the work progressed, he told Buonarrotti in July that he had come to a standstill, because he was willing to wait till Raphael had begun, in order that so dangerous a competitor might not steal his ideas.\* Paulucci explained to the Duke of Ferrara that the completion of the "Transfiguration" was delayed by the absence of Cardinal de' Medici at Florence.† In September, 1519, Raphael had taken such a step in advance that Paulucci rejoiced at the prospect of seeing the panel.‡ Sebastian learnt, soon after, that he had no longer anything to fear from the prying of Raphael's friends. His "Raising of Lazarus" was shown in December at the Palace of Cardinal Giulio. It was praised to the sky by Lionardo Sellaio, who wrote to Michaelangelo that it was far superior to the arras from Flanders.§ Raphael mean-

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\* Sebastian to Michaelangelo, Rome, July 2, 1518, *antea*, p. 399.

† Paulucci to the Duke of Ferrara, Rome, May 14, 1519,

*antea*, p. 443.

‡ Same to same, Sep. 23, 1519.

§ Gotti, Michaelangelo, i. 126-7, and ii. 56.

while still held back. But in March, nine or ten days before he was laid low with fever, he asked the Ferrarese agent to visit him, and Paulucci reported that he found his pictures admirable.\*

It has been thought likely that the "Transfiguration" was left unfinished, because Giulio Romano in 1522 received a balance of money still due for its completion.† But Giulio, being Raphael's executor, had a right to prove and to claim the debts of his friend, and Vasari tells us that the altar-piece was ready for display when Raphael died.‡

That Giulio had just cause to press for the remuneration which was due from the cardinal, might also be urged on the ground that, in spite of Raphael's apparent determination to finish the "Transfiguration" throughout with his own hand, he had been unable to keep that resolution. It is still a moot point whether the picture was completed in the spring of 1520, or not. It is possible that Giulio, under Raphael's very eyes, used the lamp-black and other pigments which, according to biographers, destroyed the freshness of the colours by altering their surface. But we are bound to remember that the use of lamp-black was a peculiar feature of Giulio Romano's technical handling, in the period im-

\* Paulucci to Duke of Ferrara, Rome, March 20, 1520, in Campori, *u. s.* p. 30.

† B. Castiglione to Giulio de' Medici, Rome, May 7, 1522, in Bottari, *Lettere Pittoriche*, *u. s.* iv.

p. 8.

‡ Vas., viii. 48-9 and 50. See the opinion expressed in the text, supported by Springer, Raphael and Michaelangelo, *u. s.* ii. 190-1.

mediately subsequent to Raphael's death. The "Transfiguration" reveals a copious application of lamp-black. But in spite of this defect, and in spite of the proofs which a mere glance affords of the co-operation of assistants on the right side of the foreground, the "Transfiguration," as a whole, must be accepted as one of the greatest masterpieces of the 16th century.

There is probably no composition, except the "Entombment," to which Raphael devoted more thought, or more patience and study, than the altar-piece of Cardinal de' Medici. We cannot pretend to know all the preparations which were made for it, but the nudes for the whole composition on one sheet, and studies for its different parts on others, are still in existence, and prove how conscientious Raphael remained to the last.\*

\* We should note first:—

Vienna. Albertina. A study in red chalk,  $4\frac{5}{8}$  in. h. by  $5\frac{1}{2}$ , of the nude model for the apostle with the book, on the left-hand foreground of the "Transfiguration," varying slightly from the figure in the picture in the inclination of the head and the position of the sides of the folio, but masterly in every particular.

Same collection. The same figure as the foregoing, with that of the apostle immediately behind it pointing to the sky, red chalk  $11\frac{1}{2}$  in. h. by  $8\frac{1}{2}$ , two very fine nudes, in action corresponding to the finished work of the altar-piece. A very fine replica of this Alber-

tina drawing is in Chatsworth Collection, apparently by Penni, and probably traced for the purpose of adding the draperies.

British Museum. Head of the saint in the foreground, shaded and finished in black chalk, of life size and pricked for transfer to the panel.  $15\frac{1}{4}$  in. h. by  $13\frac{3}{4}$ . From the Flinck, Devonshire, Lawrence, and King William of Holland's collections. Here the head is more bald, the hair longer, and the face less idealized than in the picture, but the execution is very skilful.

Vienna. Albertina. Nudes of three apostles in the centre of the ground at the foot of Mount

Michaelangelo, when convinced that no journey-men could understand his thoughts, or render the forms which he imagined with the mastery and

Tabor, red chalk 12½ in. h. by 10½, identical with those in the picture, but that one of them in the model drawing is beardless, viz., the disciple with his hand on his hip, and pointing across his breast to indicate the frenzy of the boy to his neighbour on the left, and the third disciple crouching in front of them with his hands raised. Very skilfully executed.

Oxford. No. 137. 19½ in. h. by 14½. Black chalk. Life size. Shaded study of the head and hands of the apostle last described, and the stooping youthful companion to the left of him. The face of the latter is embellished in the picture by longer and more studiously graceful locks. The treatment of the study is admirable.

Same collection. No. 138. 10½ in. h. by 9½. Head of the apostle pointing to the boy, of which the nude with two companions has just been described at the Albertina. This is not a genuine drawing.

London. Malcolm Collection. Head identical with the foregoing and said to be the original. (Not seen.)

Louvre. Two academies side by side of the stooping young disciple of whom we have just seen the head and hands in No. 137 at Oxford. Red chalk studies of the entire figure in two different

movements; one being more inclined forward than the other, and taken from a different model. Both admirably executed in Raphael's most powerful manner.

Milan. Ambrosiana. Red chalk study of the nudes of the frenzied boy and his father, similar to the picture except in the head of the latter. Very clever.

Chatsworth. Sketchy figure in umber wash and white of the Moses. Very freely treated in the manner of Penni, and possibly done for his copy of the picture at Madrid.

Vienna. Albertina. Pen and ink sketch, 20 in. h. by 14½, of the nudes of the whole composition as it came, draped, into the picture, probably put together from Raphael's studies by Giulio Romano.

Oxford Gallery. Nos. 139, 140, and 141. Studies of two feet and two hands in 137, life size, and pricked as cartoons. These fragments are said to be for the "Transfiguration," but we cannot find them there.

Chatsworth. Head of an apostle, with a separate outline of the hand raised to heaven, already mentioned as a study for the cartoon of "St. Paul at Lystra" (p. 306). This looks as if it might have been used for the disciple in profile pointing towards the mount in the "Transfiguration."

character peculiar to himself, dismissed the Florentines whom he had summoned to his help, and from that time forward accepted none but aid of the most formal and unimportant kind from his underlings. Under those circumstances he produced the frescos of the Sixtine ceiling with that superiority and success which Raphael also achieved in the Sixtine "Madonna." But Raphael in some respects had not the constancy of his great competitor. Though his enemies clearly warned him of the danger which he incurred in not confiding absolutely in himself, his resolution to avoid it was not persistent; and though Vasari affirms that his intention was to execute the "Transfiguration" with his own hand, he only painted two-thirds of it, leaving the rest to the care of his companions. If all the picture had been carried out like the vision of Christ rising from the mount, we should not have to record that the last masterpiece of an immortal painter, though in itself one of the finest productions of the Italian school, is, as a whole, below the level of the Sixtine "Madonna."

The subject entrusted to Raphael was a difficult one to deal with. It was based on a passage in the Gospel of St. Matthew, which told how the parents of a lunatic boy took him to the disciples whilst Jesus, with Peter, James, and John, was away on a high mountain.\* The Redeemer appears transfigured in the heavens above the mount; and his companions see him, attended by Moses and Elias, in the sky.

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\* Matthew xvii. 16.

Whilst the Saviour was on the hill to which his dearest disciples accompanied him, the rest of the twelve were reposing at the foot of Mount Tabor, where they were met by the family of the possessed boy at the very time of the Transfiguration. The two incidents thus combined have the sanction of Scripture, and Raphael cannot be accused of caprice in attempting to unite them in one composition.

The vision of Christ, facing the spectator and wafted upwards with his hands outstretched and his face turned heavenwards, whilst Moses and Elias have come down to join him in his upward flight, is one of the noblest renderings of a subject which taxed the energies of successive painters for centuries. The mantle which swathes the Redeemer's limbs and sweeps in folds over his left shoulder swells to the movements of the air, and the drapery is cast with such skill as to add grace and elasticity to a figure, noble in movement, perfect in proportion, and sublime in the beauty of its form and features. The subtlety with which this grand impersonation is made to appear illumined by its own supernatural brightness, against the still greater brilliancy of the clouds that surround it, is the more effective because the same glow, radiating to all sides, casts shadows of greater force on the neighbouring figures of Moses and Elias, who keep their station below and in front of the Redeemer. Moses, with rays issuing hornlike from his forehead, moves upwards to the left, partly showing his back, with his face so inclined that the bearded profile is clearly

seen. He looks at Christ, and on his breast he presses the tables of the law; a mantle covers all of his frame, except the left foot, which is pendent, and the right, which is raised by a bend of the knee. The bearded Elias on the opposite side supports with both hands the testament which rests against his chest and floats obliquely in front of the mist that partly conceals a clump of trees on the retreating slope of the hill. The light which falls perpendicularly down the shapes of the patriarchs, and streaks their frames—in direct contraries, strikes vertically on the three apostles who were resting on the ground. But the dazzling sheen of the Presence has caused them to rise and to tremble. St. Peter turns and prostrates his form to the earth. He kneels, all but kissing the ground, with his glance bent downwards and his right hand raised. Near him St. James, rising mechanically on his elbow, shades with his fingers the eyes that are made sore by the light, and moves his right leg as he turns to leave his hard earthen seat. St. John struggles to his knees, but as he stretches out his right leg and raises his frame from the grass, he is blinded by the vision, and the thumb and fingers which he brings to his forehead cast a shadow on his youthful profile.

The glow that surrounded the Saviour as he prayed still dwells on the spot which he left, and covers the hill to its whole extent, allowing us to see, in comparative gloom, a distant landscape to the right, where farms crown a height, buildings nestle in trees, and a bridge spans a stream in the low ground. To the

left a gleam is thrown on two deacons, St. Julian and St. Lawrence, who kneel in front of a tree, the first with his arms resignedly lowered before him, the second with his hands joined in prayer. The anachronism conveyed by the addition of these figures has been matter of severe comment. Yet Raphael would probably not have pleaded guilty to it, and would doubtless have claimed that it was committed under orders from his patron. The effect is all the more curious because the churchmen are unmoved by the fear and surprise which the apostles display.

It has been said with some show of truth that the scene thus majestically depicted was artificially connected, if connected at all, with that part of the composition which represents the coming of the possessed boy to the disciples at the foot of the mount. The groups in this portion of the picture are full of life and variety, and put together with studied skill. But the truth and realism by which these qualities are enhanced are not such natural elements of the painter's character as grace and kindliness. We admire the power, whilst we miss the more spontaneous evidence of the master's genius, and this, independently of the faults of colouring noticed by Vasari, which age has rather increased than diminished; independently too of the obvious intervention of Giulio Romano or Penni in that part of the panel of which the boy possessed of the devil is the centre; independently, in conclusion, of the fact that the distribution of the two main incidents was really trying even to an artist of Raphael's power.



In arranging the miracle of the "Raising of Lazarus," Sebastian del Piombo enjoyed the advantage of being able to concentrate all his attention on one scene. Raphael in the "Transfiguration" had to unite two incidents widely different in their pictorial aspect. We must commend the skill with which this combination was achieved, rather than reprove the painter for attempting it. It is quite likely, no doubt, that Michaelangelo would have refused to take up such a theme if he thought it would involve a breach of elementary maxims of art. But Raphael was not above trying what human energy could realize in such an emergency, and the result was very nearly, if not in an absolute sense, a brilliant success. A recent historian has aptly quoted Goethe in defence of Raphael's effort. He says that Raphael did not transgress the rules of scientific art, being forced to follow the Bible text, and form into one what, properly speaking, is a series of two episodes. Having accepted the text, he was bound to unite incidents which were at once separate and inseparable. The scene of the "Transfiguration," which required proximity, yet demanded height and an expanse of sky; that of the apostles meeting the lunatic boy, which equally imposed the necessity of prominence; the double centre of vision, the projection of two lights and varying proportions;—all these discordances were to be forced into harmony; and this feat Raphael performed, by ingeniously connecting the parts, making Christ transfigured large in stature yet faint in scale of tinting, and balancing the rest by contrasts of feeling, gesture,

expression, and movement, compressed into the most concentrated form of dramatic energy.\*

The link by which the foreground groups are connected with those on Mount Tabor is directly established by the gesture of two disciples on the left, who, though still unconscious of the miracle, point towards the hill to which Christ has ascended. One, who presents his back and the crown of his head to view, reminds his neighbours of the Redeemer's absence. The other, in similar action, calls to the father of the mad boy, as if to say that on earth the power of healing has passed with the departure of the Saviour. The boy on the right struggles in the arms of his parents, and rolls his eye-balls into a squint as he convulsively points towards Mount Tabor. In spite of his frenzy the youth is robust and muscular in shape; his left arm is lowered, and his fingers apart. His writhing frame, naked to the waist, is rescued from complete nudity by a short drapery that hangs down to the knees and is bound by a knotted sash. Stooping with his hands under the boy's armpits, the father gazes at the apostles, whose words he has just heard, with a glazed and staring eye. His wife, we may think, kneels at the youth's side, whose form conceals all but her arm, which lies on his breast, and her face, which is turned with an expression of meekness and longing to those from whom she expected a cure. The face of the woman is full of feeling and expression, and beautifully moulded in the shape of earlier

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\* Compare Springer, Raphael and Michaelangelo, *u. s.* ii. 192.

Raphaelic types, such as the "St. Catherine" of the National Gallery, the "Madonna of Alba," or the Maries of the "Spasimo." Five of the boy's relations form a knot of people in rear. Facing it, but parted by an interval of ground, four apostles are standing or sitting, one stretching out his arm to explain the matter to a bearded companion behind him; another, in advance of the two last, crouching as he looks, and raising his hands in token of sympathy; whilst a younger saint, bending forward with his hands on his breast, shows copious locks enframing a fine youthful profile. It is here that we find, thus late, a faint echo of the harmony of lines which Raphael assimilated and gave forth in the kneeling votaries of the "Disputa." Contrasting with these in stern dignity of mien and severe grandeur of aspect, are the remaining apostles, whose breadth of shape and powerful build, and action, manifest the realistic tendencies of Raphael in his later days. Conspicuous above all in this sense is the aged yet energetic man on the left foreground, whose coloured draperies are reflected in a pool at his side. This hoary disciple was reading from a folio when interrupted by the coming of the boy and his friends. He drops his volume to the ground, and, opening his left hand in token of wonder, he moves the upper part of his body to gaze at the frenzy of the youth before him, and stops in surprise at the spectacle. In this figure the whole genius of Raphael is concentrated, and his art exhausted. Grand and muscular shape, perfectly drawn and modelled, limbs of excel-

lent build and splendid foreshortening, hands and feet of the utmost correctness, and draperies of the noblest sweep, all combine with a splendid proportion of light and shadow to produce the impression of unsurpassable mastery. And one cannot help thinking that Raphael was impelled to this successful display by the sense of his rivalry with Sebastian del Piombo, whom he desired to surpass in every element of the highest art whilst keeping within those bounds of nature which Michaelangelo alone was bold enough to outstrip.

The foreground of the composition is completed by a fine delineation of a kneeling woman, draped, with the exception of the left arm, shoulder, and left foot, in a tunic and mantle. She nearly presents her back to the spectator, but pointing to the agonies of the boy, she turns her profile to the apostle near her, to whose powers of healing she grandly appeals. The full shape, the classic face, with the hair wound in plaits, exhibit all the idealized beauties of Raphael's latest style, the type of the goddesses of the Farnesina, and the water-carrying females of the "Fire of the Borgo." Had Raphael been consistent, and painted all himself as he painted the upper part and the left-hand side of the "Transfiguration"—had he not allowed Giulio to put in the draperies of the kneeling girl, the body of the frenzied boy, or the dress of his father, and the group of relatives behind him—he would have produced a more perfect masterpiece than that which now claims so much of our admiration at the Vatican. But with all drawbacks allowed, he still was able to surpass Sebastian del Piombo, and he

closed his career with a masterpiece which his rival had not been able to equal.\*

As Vasari said in touching words, Raphael so compressed his energy in the attempt to display the whole of the power and gifts of his art, he threw such perfection into the face of Christ, that, having finished it, he seemed to say, "This is the last thing that I shall do in this world. I shall never again touch a pencil." †

And it was so.

On the 24th of March he was still in health, and with his usual activity engaged in the performance of his duties, public and private. On that very day he appeared to foresee that a long life of useful and profitable labour was before him. He signed a contract with the canons of St. Peter, in which he took

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\* *The Transfiguration.* Vatican Museum. No. XVIII. Wood. M. 4·05 h. by 2·78. This picture remained till 1757 on the high altar of San Pietro in Montorio. It was then copied in mosaic by S. Pozzi for St. Peter. It was not exhibited at Rome till 1522. In 1797 it was taken to Paris and there cleaned. In 1815 it was restored to the Vatican.

As to state, the shadows have become very dark in the foreground, and fragments have been repainted, such as the toes of the apostle in the left foreground, and the shoulder of the apostle nearest to the kneeling female. The whole surface, more or less, has been altered by light tintings.

Gian Francesco Penni's copy of

the altarpiece, originally executed for Pope Clement VII. (Vas., viii. p. 243), was taken by him to Naples, and left at Ischia in possession of the Marquis del Vasto. It afterwards came to Madrid, and is now in the museum, numbered 2125. It is a tame copy, of the size of the original, with varieties in the colours of the dresses, and the trees behind St. Julian and St. Lawrence omitted.

Two other copies, one in the sacristy of the Escorial, the other in the hands of Cavalier Cavaiete in Rome, are but poor productions. The latter is small, and has been considered a sketch by Raphael for the picture. It is, however, only an old copy.

† Vas. viii. p. 50.

over the rights of an older lessee to the ground on which he meant to build a new palace, near the church of San Biagio della Pagnotta, in the vicinity of the Via Giulia and Saint John of the Florentines.\* In the next following days he may possibly have followed Fulvius in the labyrinth of his excavations. On the 28th he fell sick, and sank on the bed from which he was never more to rise.

He died on the 6th of April, 1520, having been preceded to the grave by Lorenzo de' Medici, and the Cardinals Cibo and de' Rossi, but leaving Bibiena and Leo to survive him for a few months. The suddenness with which fever carried off a man so gifted and widely known, the portents which accompanied his last hours, would in an earlier age have formed a legend. Leo X. was aware from the first of the dangerous condition to which his favourite painter had been brought. He made frequent and generous inquiries as to his state, and finally heard of his loss "with unmeasured grief."† Even Sebastian had a kind word for the man whom he had maligned. "I think you know," he wrote to Michaelangelo, "how poor Raphael of Urbino died, and you will have grieved at the news. May God grant him pardon."‡ Paulucci wrote to the Duke of Ferrara on the 7th of April, that "Raphael had just been buried at the Pantheon, having sunk under continuous acute fever which

\* See the document in the Gazette des Beaux Arts for 1880, p. 359.

† Marc. Ant. Michiel to Antonio di Marsilio at Venice, Rome,

April 11, 1520, in anon., ed. Morelli, *u. s.* p. 210.

‡ Sebastian to Michaelangelo, Rome, without date, in Pini, Scritture, No. 143.



carried him off in eight days. Being a man of extraordinary genius, he was mourned by all acquainted with his worth, and in truth he was a great loss" \* The pernicious character of the disease is revealed by a single fact. The corpse was buried within twenty-four hours after death. But within that short space of time, all the artists of Rome came to see the body; and they found, at the head of the bed, the "Transfiguration"—the last creation of the hands that now lay motionless before them.

Pico della Mirandola hastened to inform Isabella Gonzaga of the fatal event. "For the moment, madam, you will probably not hear of anything but that Raphael of Urbino died last night, which was Good Friday, leaving the court in the utmost and most universal grief at a loss which robbed the world of the hope of important results which it expected. People say, indeed, that he still gave promise of many great things not only because of that which he has actually performed, but on account of the beginning which he had made of still greater undertakings."

And then as to portents :

"The Heavens seem to have been willing to show one of the signs which they showed at the death of Christ when *lapides scissi sunt* : the palace of the Pope was opened and threatened to crumble, and His Holiness fled from his apartments and took refuge in those built by Innocent VIII."

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\* Paulucci to the Duke of Ferrara, Rome, April 7, 1520, in Campori, *u. s.* p. 30.

And then he concluded: "Nothing is spoken of here but the death of this excellent man, who closed his first life at 33 (!), but the second, which is that of his renown, is subject to neither time nor death, and will be perpetual." \*

The judgment of centuries has ratified the opinion of Pico della Mirandola, and Raphael, whose remains are still in the Pantheon, bears a name familiar to the world, and, according to human calculation, never to be forgotten.

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We promised at the close of Chapter VII. a description of the Loggie. In the first cupola, at the bottom of the Colonnade, four subjects are introduced.

1. The Eternal moving with outstretched hands through the chaos of light and darkness seems propelled with the force of a thunderbolt. He is bearded and dressed like an antique Jove. Though parts of the surface have been injured, the deep tinting and dark shadows still look well balanced as they were left by the hands of Giulio Romano and Penni. The drawing for the Eternal in the Ranghiasi collection at Gubbio, in pen line shaded with umber and heightened with white, is an original by Giulio or Penni under Giulio's direction, which was doubtless enlarged by the usual mechanical means to the size of the fresco. A copy of the Ranghiasi design, in the Santarelli Collection at the Uffizi at Florence, is but a school piece, and perhaps the same that belonged to the collection of King William of Holland. (Pass., ii. p. 534.)

2. The Eternal, hovering over the globe on which the waters are parted from the land, is a fine display of majestic movement enhanced by picturesque curves of drapery. It recalls in general

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\* Pico della Mirandola to Isabella Gonzaga, Rome, April 7, 1520, in Camp., Notizie e docu-

menti per la Vita di Gio. Santi e di Raffaello, u. s. pp. 13, 14.



features the St. Peter and St. Paul of the "Attila" at the Camera, and is a fine conception worked out with Raphaelic feeling by Giulio Romano. The execution is good, almost as good indeed as Raphael's, and, as the painting is fairly preserved, its effect is all the more imposing.

3. God the Father moves over the globe, above which, at the command suggested by his outstretched hands, the sun and moon appear. The blue, starred firmament discoloured by abrasion, the draperies by repaints, make this fresco look feebler than the previous ones.

4. The Eternal, swathed in a large mantle, which flaps in the breeze, comes forward, theatrically enough, in the foreground of a landscape filled with numerous animals. We may assign to Giovanni da Udine the studies for the latter, the most remarkable of which were, no doubt, the Indian beasts, presented by the King of Portugal to Leo X.

In the lozenges forming the ornament round these four pictures, half-lengths of angels remind us of the "Ezekiel" of the Pitti at Florence.

The bronze monochrome in the skirting beneath the window is known by Bartoli's engraving to have represented the Creator in a choir of angels on clouds, blessing the seventh day. We have already named the painter of these monochromes.

The types of the Eternal in these four frescos are ingeniously varied. They are mostly modelled on those of Michaelangelo by Giulio Romano. But the first recalls the "Ezekiel," whilst the others show that the Michaelangelesque was modified by antique elements or memories of Raphael's earlier practice.

The second cupola contains frescos of more complex arrangement than the first.

1. God the Father, hoary with age, and clothed in a large mantle, lays his hand on the shoulder of Eve, who stands naked with her arms crossed over her bosom before Adam, rising on a projection of ground and pointing to the spot where the rib has been taken from him. A rabbit at the mouth of a hole seems to symbolize fecundity. A beautiful landscape background has been sadly altered by abrasion. Vasari truly assigns the execution of

the work to Giulio, who cannot even here forget his predilection for Michaelangelo. But the figure of Adam is little more than a study of ordinary nude.

2. Eve on the left in profile strides towards Adam, and holds a branch of the tree of knowledge with her left hand. Her right grasps the fruit which Adam takes, as he sits on a fallen trunk to the right. Between them Satan with the head of a woman has coiled his snake folds round the tree, out of which he is looking. Here, again, Adam is an academic nude, far below the level of Raphael's figure in the "Temptation" of the Camera. Eve is pretty, and moulded on nature slightly idealized in the antique form. The composition is unfortunately without inner cohesion, and seems put together at random by Giulio from studies suggested by Raphael. The execution is due to the joint efforts of Penni and Giulio, and is less ruddy in tone than Giulio alone would have made it. If a drawing assigned to Raphael in the Düsseldorf Academy, which Passavant (ii. p. 458) conceived to be a tracing from Raphael's original design, should be accepted as a first impression by Giulio, it would show that the idea at first was to represent Adam and Eve seated.

3. The "Expulsion" recalls the arrangement of Masaccio at Florence in reverse. The angel, with the sword in his hand, descends a flight of steps, driving before him Adam, who buries his face in his hands, and Eve, who endeavours to conceal her shame. The angel differs from that of Masaccio so far, that he does not point with the sword, but pushes Adam with his hand. His action is more like that of an angel in one of the frescos of the upper church of Assisi. He reveals energy and menace united with serenity, and seems moulded in the Raphaelic form conspicuous in the "Heliodorus." But the figure of Eve shows the coarser handling of Giulio, whose technical handling is more manifest here than in the "Temptation," though it is still modified by the help of Penni. Unfortunately the angel's head is abraded, and the landscape discoloured.

The design in black and white water-colour at Windsor is a counterpart of the fresco which was taken from it with squares by Giulio.\* The reminiscence of Masaccio must have been strong in

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\* A study in red chalk for the Adam and Eve, 15 in. h. by 11, registered in the catalogue of the Jabach Collection, on grey paper

Raphael, since he caused the same composition to be placed amongst the stuccos of the Loggia.

4. Eve in the act of spinning is seated with her two children at the foot of a tree, whilst Adam, a little further back, sows his field.

The second monochrome bronze, which has perished, represented Cain and Abel kneeling at their altars, God the Father in the air in Abel's direction, and Cain slaying his brother to the right.

The two first of these frescos are pictures of which Raphael contributed the idea. His impressions were chiefly founded on the antique, into which Giulio and Penni imported something Michaelangellesque. The creation of Adam differs from that of Buonarrotti at the Sistine, which, as usual, is rather an emanation of the painter's genius than a true representation of a gospel subject. In composing the "Temptation," Michaelangelo arranged the episode with the idea of the "Expulsion." His ingenuity suggests that Adam plucked the fruit at the very moment when Eve offered it. There is more of nature than of Scripture in the conception.

The frescos of the third cupola are all connected with the mission of Noah.

1. The building of the ark is shown by a skeleton of a building in front of which Noah stands in profile, bearded, directing the labours of a few workmen who form an active group in the foreground to the left. Three of these figures, all but naked, ply the

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is now numbered 330 at the Louvre, 0.325 by 0.187. Mr. Reiset ascribes it to A. del Sarto. On the back are three naked men,

showing their backs as they run. These are by the same hand as the Adam and Eve.

adze, the axe, and the saw. In the distance, a landscape with woods and outlines of a castle. The forcible character and ordinary occupation of carpenters is well contrasted with the dignified port of Noah, whose shape and movement afford a sufficient reminiscence of one of the persons in Lionardo's "Nativity" at the Pitti. The outlines are as bold as the colours are powerful. Light and shade are cleverly balanced. We observe the style of Giulio in large and muscular men. To Giulio also we ascribe the composition. The handling is in a large measure by Penni. The drawing mentioned by Passavant in the Villa Pamfili at Rome is not now discoverable. It is described as being in black chalk, heightened with white,  $8\frac{1}{2}$  inches high by 15.

2. The "Deluge" challenges comparison with the same subject by Paolo Uccello in Santa Maria Novella at Florence, and by Michaelangelo at the Sixtine. We saw how vain it would be to compare the work of Raphael's assistants with that of Buonarrotti. Giulio, who probably arranged the composition under Raphael's direction, was guided in part by his master's recollections of Uccello's masterpiece, and his own appreciation of the frescos of the Sixtine. He combined both with antique models to which he had access at Rome. The picture is well arranged, energetic in action, varied in episode, and dramatic in expression. In the centre of the foreground, a bearded man with a child in his grasp steps out of the water, and drags a woman, who also carries a child on her shoulder, to a bank. Another man emerges from the flood with a woman apparently lifeless in his arms. He is followed by another swimming a horse. The second of these groups in the spirit of Buonarrotti, the third in that of Uccello, indicate the sources to which the composer appealed. But the second also shows a distinct imitation of the group of Ajax and Patroclus, a mutilated remnant of classic art, which is known to have been at Rome till 1570, though it was afterwards carried to Florence, and now stands on a pedestal in the Loggia de' Lanzi.\* On the bank

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\* Another version of the same group in a fragmentary state is now in the Piazza di Pasquino, near the Braschi Palace at Rome.

There is a print by Diana Ghigi,

acknowledged very generally as being taken from a drawing of Giulio Romano, which represents the Greeks rescuing the body of Patroclus.

to the right mothers and children are huddled together under the shelter of low bushes bent by the storm, whilst a woman clings, half immersed, to the trunk of a tree. One of the mothers with her family recalls a group of the Niobides, and a still more distinct imitation of this form of the antique is apparent in the female raising her dress behind the mother. In the middle distance a man repels with a stick the effort of a sinking individual to climb the sides of a foundering skiff. On the land another drops exhausted, yet another holds a garment, which is blown outward by the wind. Further off galleys are seen running for the shore; and behind, the ark appears, looming large in the gloom parted by the flash of a thunderbolt which destroys the people near it. Though Vasari does not register this fresco amongst the works of Giulio, it is undoubtedly his, and appears worked out with more than his usual art, particularly as regards boldness of lighting and diversity of movement and expression.\* A drawing, No. 105 at Oxford (9½ inches high by 16), representing a naked man snatching together the folds of a cloth fluttering in the wind, another man to the left with his back to the spectator, and a mother and two children attended by a woman concealing her face in her hands, was long considered a study for the "Passage of the Red Sea." But the episodes which it delineates are those in the distance and right side of the "Deluge." It is a sketch by one of Raphael's assistants, yet imitates Michaelangelo rather than Raphael.

3. Noah leaves the ark. He stands, resting on his staff, attended by his women and others, whilst the animals leaving the vessel march past in couples, or fly in pairs into the sky. With some graceful features, this composition is poor, and feebly executed. It has also the disadvantage of being injured. Some heads are almost obliterated. The animals might naturally be assigned to Giovanni da Udine.

4. "Noah's Sacrifice" suggested to Raphael's pupils the same appeal to old bas-reliefs which was made at the period of the cartoons. Some of the figures, indeed, such as the steers led to

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\* Though we know of no extant drawing in black and white of this fresco, two versions of the subject in that form were catalogued

in the Jabach Collection, viz., one on grey paper, 15½ in. h. by 12½, another 11½ in. h. by 13.

sacrifice, and a man with a ram, are in the spirit of those in the cartoon of "St. Paul at Lystra." Noah stands to the right, in prayer before a square altar on which a fire is burning. Behind him is a man with a ram, in front to the left another man, stooping to bleed a similar animal, and a third bending with a dish to receive the blood. Here again we have a feeble version of a subject ably treated by Michaelangelo at the Sistine. The sketch may have been Giulio's with suggestions from Raphael. But the design in black and white, in the Albertina Collection at Vienna, which contains all the elements of the fresco, is in the negligent style of an assistant such as Polidoro da Caravaggio might have been at the time, displaying boldness of line without much correctness or effective balance of light and shade.\* The execution of the fresco is feebler than that of Giulio, and may be attributed to Penni. The animals, as before, may be painted by Giovanni da Udine.

The third basement monochrome also relates to the story of Noah, who looks with surprise, encompassed by his family in prostrate attitudes, at the rainbow, to which the Eternal, who appears amongst angels on the left, is pointing. The composition no doubt originated with Giulio, but was probably done on the wall by Perino del Vaga, to whom, as we saw, Vasari assigns the twelve pieces of the series. A drawing in the Stædel Collection at Frankfort, which may be that mentioned by Richardson, illustrates the skill of an artist who copied the fresco for an engraving. (From the Reveil, Lawrence, and King William of Holland collections.)

The fourth cupola is entirely taken up with incidents of the life of Abraham.

1. Melchizedec and his people bring bread and wine for the use of Abraham. The bread is in large baskets, the wine in four large jugs. Near one of the former to which he is pointing, Melchizedec stands pointing out the welcome supply to Abraham, who appears in a Roman helmet and arms, with a lance leaning

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\* A replica of this drawing in black and white water-colour, from the Reveil and Lawrence collec-

tions, was sold at the sale of King William of Holland.

against his shoulder. Attendants on each side offer and receive the presents. Though much damaged, and robbed of its colour in many places, this piece still possesses a distinct Raphaeolic look, and the form of Melchizedec recalls that of St. Paul and apostles in the cartoons. In the distance a river and hills give lines such as might be found in the valley of the Tiber. The composition is not without movement. Designed by Giulio, it seems to have been put on the wall by Giulio and Penni.

2. God appears to Abraham, who lies half prostrate on the ground with his back to the spectator, surprised at seeing the fire burning on an altar. Two angels support the arms of the Eternal, a form which recurs in the "Ezekiel" of the Pitti. Like the "Ezekiel" itself, the shape of the Almighty is moulded on the creations of Michaelangelo. The composition is doubtless attributable to Giulio, the painting to Penni. But the colours are much abraded. Richardson pretends to have seen the original design at the Louvre.

3. Three angels appear to Abraham, who kneels humbly to the left, whilst Sara looks out from the door of the hut behind. The angels, in the true Raphaeolic shape, form a pretty group within the enclosure of Abraham's house. Two in front address the patriarch, one in rear holds the hand of his next companion. But the movements of these messengers are not unaffected; their limbs are large and muscular; and if we miss the bold treatment of Giulio, who left the principal labour to Penni, we surely guess that to him and Raphael we owe the conception of the picture. Giulio also drew the small drawing in black and white at the Albertina, which corresponds with the painting on the wall in all but the height of the distant hills. It is on brownish paper,  $7\frac{1}{8}$  inches high by  $9\frac{1}{12}$ , from the Louvre and Rutgers collections.

4. Lot giving his hands to his daughters is seen in the foreground to the left, leaving the burning city of Sodom. His wife in rear to the right has turned to look at the fire, and is changed into a pillar of salt. Her form is depicted like an alabaster surface. In the drawing which belongs to Mr. Armand in Paris, and was squared for transfer to the wall, this subtlety is not yet manifested. The four figures are boldly thrown on the paper in black and white, and the light, striking them in front, produces strong and effective shadows on the ground. The movements are

elastic and naturally produced on paper by Giulio.\* The painting on the wall is roughly blocked out, and not without exaggerations of line and stiffness of action.

In the basement monochrome, which is the fourth of the series, we note the composition of Giulio as shown in a drawing in black and white water-colour at Windsor,† the scheme of the distribution being probably derived from Raphael, who suggested an arrangement different from his own in the earlier fresco of the Camere. The space reserved for the subject being a long rectangle, and not triangular, it became necessary to bring together the figures in a new form. An altar is set in the middle of the picture, and Abraham prepares to sacrifice his son, who kneels in a simple attitude before him. The angel who arrests the patriarch's hand flies horizontally to the left: the second angel, who carries the lamb, is not so sharply foreshortened as that of the Camere. A few simple lines indicate the height on which the scene is laid, a hill swept by breezes which move the draperies of Abraham and the heavenly messengers. Above the brow of the hill to the left, the heads of a servant and his ass appear. The subject is one of those which Vasari expressly assigns to Perino del Vaga.‡

### The fifth cupola illustrates the life of Isaac.

1. The Lord appears on a cloud to the right, and pointing to Rebecca, who sits with her face resting on her hand to the left, warns Isaac not to journey into Egypt. Isaac kneels in a fine attitude in the middle of the foreground, supporting himself with his staff, whilst he throws back his right arm towards Rebecca. His head is covered with a round hat, and his shape reminds us of the antique Mercury, whilst his limbs and frame reveal the painter's fondness for colossal proportions aping those of Michael-

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\* This drawing is no doubt that which was sold at the sale of King William of Holland, which came from the collections of Queen Christine, Jabach, Crozat, Mariette, Rutgers, Willes, Duroveray, Dimsdale, Lawrence, and Woodburne. In the Jabach Collection its size is 12½ in. h. by 16.

† Windsor. Long sheet. 4½ in. h. by 16. Probably from the Bonfiglioli Collection at Bologna. A rapidly executed drawing, with strong pen outline. Another version of the composition, with the figures brought closer together, is also in the Windsor Collection.

‡ Vas., x. p. 143.



angelo; Rebecca too is modelled on the antique, both as regards movement and face; the Eternal is like that of Buonarrotti, which sweeps through the firmament of the Sixtine Chapel—all of which betrays the tendencies of Giulio Romano, to whom we should also attribute the bold technical handling and strong contrasts of light and shade which the fresco presents. The scene is marked by grand landscape features of trees and grasses, and undulations. A castle crowns a hill, behind which a chain of mountains is seen.

The drawing at the Albertina, in the usual treatment of those designed for the Loggie, looks more like the work of Polidoro than the work of Giulio, being similar in handling to the sacrifice of Noah in the third, Jacob at the well in the sixth, and Joseph interpreting the dream in the seventh cupola.\* But if this conjecture be correct, Polidoro must have been working under Giulio's direction, for there is evidence in other drawings of the same subject that Giulio Romano was closely connected with it. In a replica of the Albertina drawing at Windsor, the figures are altered and brought closer together in order to fill a narrower space. The same lines recur in a third drawing at Prague, in which the sheet on which the subject is thrown has been further used for a group of the Virgin and Child, often transferred to pictures by Giulio Romano and his disciples. One of these pictures, reproducing the drawing in its principal features, represents the Virgin resting on the ground, turned to the left, and supporting the Infant Christ, who plays with a spray of flowers. One of Christ's feet rests on an entablature, on which the Virgin holds a book which she grasps with her left hand. A smile overspreads the Saviour's face as he looks up at his mother. The drawing at Prague originally belonged to the Alberti of Borgo San Sepolcro, subsequently passed into the hands of Count Stackelberg at Dresden, and is now the property of Mr. Lehmann. It is quite in the character of Giulio Romano. The panel, an heirloom in the house of Signora Marianna Compagni de' Nobili at Lucca, was exhibited in the provincial palace of that city in 1877, and though assigned to Raphael is in the later style of Giulio at the close of his Roman period or at the opening of his Mantuan practice. It is slightly affected in action, but boldly executed in warm tones modelled

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\* Albertina.

with olive shadows, and deep vestment tints. A replica, No. 56 in the gallery of the Hermitage, under Giulio Romano's name, varies in the form of the background, which, instead of being dark brown, is tinted in coloured marble with a pilaster on one side. A second replica, assigned to Giulio, in the Uffizi, seems a feebler work of the master's school. A copy on canvas in the Palazzo Borghese bears marks of a later origin. Other adaptations, at Holkham and Verona, are noted by Passavant, and give the measure of the popularity which the picture enjoyed.\*

2. Rebecca and Isaac embrace each other, as they sit in dalliance on a seat in the hall of a palace. This scene of affection, represented with the coarseness of Giulio and executed with the careful brush of Penni, is witnessed from a gallery to the right by King Abimelech.

3. Isaac rests on his couch, with the lower part of his form covered in drapery. He blesses Jacob, who bends before him and places a dish on the table to the right with Rebecca's help. Three of Isaac's sons kneel at the side of the couch. Esau in the distance enters with the game on a pole. The grand shape of Isaac, designed by Giulio on the model of a Greek philosopher, contrasts with the feebler shapes of those around him. The composition must be assigned to Giulio, the painting to Penni.

4. Isaac, on his couch as before, receives Esau, who lays the kid down on the floor and asks for the blessing. At the door Rebecca explains the incident to Jacob, who raises his hands in token of surprise. The serial character of the frescos is curiously impaired by the variety between the faces of the persons in this and the previous picture. Not one of the characters preserves the same features. The treatment, as before, points to Giulio and Penni.

By a curious slip, the subject of Esau before Isaac was again depicted in the fifth bronze monochrome.

The life of the patriarch Jacob is the subject of the four frescos of the sixth cupola.

1. "Jacob's Dream," we observed in an earlier part of this volume, is composed in the Loggie in a different form from the "Dream," in

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\* ii. pp. 335 and 459.

the Camere. Jacob lies on the foreground. But his head is turned back so that he could see, if awake, the Lord at the top of the steps leading down from the Presence, and the angels ascending and descending. The composition of the Loggie is more graceful than its counterpart. But the figure of Jacob is finer in the Camere than it is in the Loggie, and its foreshortening is better. The character of the Jacob of the Loggie is Michaelangelesque, which may be explained, like other displays of the same kind, by Giulio's known sympathy for Buonarrotti. Yet the composition may well have been put together from a first impression furnished by Raphael. The mass of light and shade is well divided, the figure of the Lord being finely relieved against a bright light merging into the darkness of neighbouring clouds. Tradition would warrant us in assigning the execution of this fresco to Pellegrino da Modena. But the picture itself, which is well preserved, shows the composition to be by Giulio, the painting by Penni. The drawing in black and white at the British Museum may be that which Passavant (ii. 177) describes in the collections of Sir Thomas Lawrence and King William of the Netherlands. It is in Giulio's usual style.

2. Jacob, bearded, with the shepherd's crook in his hand, appears at the fountain where Rachel and a female companion stand whilst their flock are lapping the water. Here again the name of Pellegrino da Modena has been put forward. But the same remarks will apply to this fresco, and the drawing at the Albertina, as were put forward in respect of the "Dream." The drawing alone may suggest doubts whether Giulio did not employ Polidoro to assist him. It is in black and white, 8 inches high by 9, from the J. Walraven Collection at Amsterdam.

3. Jacob appears before Laban and his wife, and begs for the hand of Rachel, who stands bashfully behind him. Laban is very like a Greek philosopher; Jacob young and beardless, which makes him look a different person from the Jacob at the fountain. Though much injured in places where the colours have become obliterated (to the left, and in the trees to the right), the execution still shows the manner of Penni. The drawing at Chatsworth again reveals the feebler hand of an assistant to Giulio. It is much worn.

4. Jacob, on an ass, attended by Rachel and their children, also riding asses, superintends the departure of his family and flocks

to the land of Canaan. Some of the animals forming the flock which winds up a gully to the left are quaint specimens of zoology. Some of them with the shape of camels have hoofs like horses or cows. Two shepherds drive the beasts from behind. The composition is rich and lively, and the groups of women and children are very graceful. But the execution is inferior to that of "Jacob's Dream."

In the basement monochrome, which is the sixth of the series, Jacob is represented wrestling with the angel, and Rachel asleep in a tent to the left, whilst asleep likewise, on the right, a man in a hat is shown resting on the ground with both hands clasping his knees, and near him another man is slumbering. Vasari ascribes the monochrome to Perino. The drawing at Oxford looks like a work of Penni.\* A replica at Windsor is feebler than the original at Oxford.

The scenes of Joseph's captivity in the seventh cupola are also four in number.

1. Joseph, surrounded by his brethren in sitting or recumbent attitudes, stands interpreting the dream, a graceful and youthful apparition, which somewhat recalls that of the antique Apollo. Especially fine is the man in front to the right resting his crook on the ground and holding his legs interlaced, and the group of three with their arms round each other. The reminiscences of early Raphaellesque compositions, such as the "Epiphany" in the predella of the "Madonna" of St. Antonio, are as striking as those which take us up to the cartoons in one of the brethren, who takes the semblance of a recumbent river god. Two disks at the sides of a palm tree in the upper part of the composition contain the delineations of the dreams—an old man in a field between the sun and moon, and a field with sheaves. The composition is fine, and appears to belong to Giulio, the execution being his and Penni's.

The drawing in the Albertina may be traced to the joint efforts of Giulio and an assistant of the bold character which distinguishes

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\* Oxford. No. 108. 5½ in. h. by 15½. Umber and white water-colour. This is probably identical with the example noted in Jabach's Catalogue.

Polidoro, black and white,  $8\frac{1}{2}$  inches high by 12, from the collection of the Duke of Ursel. Passavant notes (ii. pp. 430 and 531) a replica of this drawing once in the Lawrence and King William of Holland collections.

2. Joseph stands in tears to the right at the mouth of the well, of which the cover is in part removed. On one side, the brethren and the Egyptian merchants count the price. Two of the latter point to the pieces in the hands of one of their companions; two others to the left are busy with the camels, which are of the curious shape already noticed in the departure of Jacob for the land of Canaan. This composition by Giulio is less compact than the previous one. Penni is the painter of the fresco, which is very forcible in colour. A drawing for this picture was catalogued in the Jabach inventory, black and white water-colour, 8 inches high by 11.

3. Potiphar's wife on the side of the bed attempts to detain Joseph, who escapes with abhorrence depicted on his countenance. Rich hangings decorate the room, at the bottom of which there is an opening and a balustrade. We are strongly reminded in this pretty picture of the antique. Execution Penni's as before.

4. Joseph, before Pharaoh, interprets the dream of the fat and lean kine and the fat and lean years, in the presence of the courtiers, who ponder over his words. Pharaoh is on a chair of state, with a spiked crown on his head, one hand on his knee, the other raised to his mouth. A bearded attendant stands behind the throne. The fresco is in the same character and by the same painters as the three others of the series, to which, however, it is inferior in distribution. The dreams are represented as before, in two disks above the architecture of the room, which opens at the back into two arches beyond which a landscape is seen from a balcony. The drawing for this piece, in black and white, was also in the Jabach Collection, 8 inches high by 18.

In the seventh composition for the bronze monochrome, which is represented in a drawing at Windsor, we find Joseph standing near his seat, and revealing himself to his brothers. The design is by one of Raphael's assistants. Another drawing at Oxford (No. 111, 6 inches high by  $16\frac{1}{2}$ ), in a similar style, apparently executed by Penni, looks like an alternative sketch for the same piece, rejected, one may think, by Raphael. It shows us a

crowned king on a chair of state, in front of whom a youth is kneeling ; at each side four figures, and at the foot of the chair a vase. The third figure of the four on the left is a repetition in reverse of one of the apostles in the cartoons. Amongst the varieties connected with this subject, one is probably a drawing at the Louvre, representing the finding of the cup of Benjamin, a composition of nine figures with three asses to the right, described by Passavant (ii. p. 474) as a work of Perino del Vaga.

Moses is the hero of the four frescos in the eighth cupola, as well as of those in the ninth.

1. The "Finding of Moses." The moment chosen by Giulio and Penni, who are the authors of the fresco, is that when Moses, having been found and drawn to the bank of the Nile, is seen by the maids of Pharaoh's daughter, who bend over him, or observe his efforts to rise as he lies in the cradle. Most of the maids are in attitudes expressive of surprise. The king's daughter stands in rear of the group, nearest to the cradle, and looks down with compassion on the scene. The sun seems to be setting in the distance to the left, which is formed by the reaches of the river shaped here and there into wooded points bounded by distant hills. A graceful arrangement, well put together, and worthy of Giulio, to whom Vasari expressly assigns it (x. p. 88). The execution, which is careful and minute, is more in the style of Penni than in that of his immediate superior.

Two drawings at Oxford and a replica at Berlin might claim to be originals for the fresco. But none of them will bear close inspection. The state of the best of them at Oxford being defective, it may be that it has lost its genuine character by lapse of time, and decay.\* Passavant notes the following copies of this subject :—1. Mead, A. M. Zanetti and Flinck (Rotterdam), Valenti, and Woodburn collections. 2. Stockholm Museum. 3. Roscoe Collection, Liverpool. 4. Forster Collection, Paris. (Pass., ii. p. 535.)

2. The Lord appears to Moses in the burning bush, from which the flames issue in forked tongues to the left. Moses, in the garb

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\* Oxford. No. 103. In black and white.  $9\frac{1}{2}$  in. h. by  $10\frac{1}{4}$ . A study of three of the women. No. 104 at Oxford, a red chalk drawing,  $10\frac{1}{4}$  in. h. by  $16\frac{1}{4}$ , is not more genuine than No. 103.

of a shepherd, kneels to the right, hiding his face in both palms. The Eternal raises his right hand as he addresses the prophet. Moses has dropped his crook on the ground. A hill-side in the distance shows behind the trees which half conceal a city on a height. It seems needless to point out how much this composition varies from that of Raphael in the Camere. Still it is not without grandeur, and assuredly would be worthy of Raphael, though presented in his name by Giulio. The execution is similar to that of the "Finding of Moses."

3. Moses with his wand, in front of the pillar of fire, brings up the rear of the Israelite host, which struggles on to the shore out of the waters of the Red Sea. He seems to command the rush of the waters, which meet again to overwhelm the charioteers of Pharaoh. Between Moses and the land to the right, the line of people is composed of men and women carrying loads. A mother with her two children has sunk to rest on the bank. Her companion has fallen in prayer to the ground. Yet another raises her joined hands to heaven. In the distant waters the chariots and their drivers perish. To the left, under the curl of the wave which edges the lane out of which the Israelites are struggling, a charioteer in Roman helmet and armour slides from the back of a terrified horse, and, falling backward on his shield, appears to struggle with a drowning man whose arm is round his waist. The horse rears, but turns his head to defeat the grasp of one who clings to the harness of the bridle. This group, in the true spirit of the antique, is but an imitation of similar ones in a bas-relief of the arch of Constantine, and a bas-relief of the Trajan column. The close adaptation of the fresco to these models is justified by the example of Domenico Ghirlandaio, who performed similar feats in the "Massacre of the Innocents" at Santa Maria Novella of Florence. But when Raphael made appeals of this kind, he showed consummate art in assimilating and infusing a new spirit into old forms. His pupils felt the charm of the classic, yet failed to give their reproduction of them the clever distribution and delicate balancing of parts which were peculiar to Raphael. We have here a fresh instance of the insufficiency of Raphael's superintendence at the Loggie. But we may ask whether it was possible for him to impart to his pupils a gift which was exclusively his own. The "Passage of the Red Sea" would probably have been much more compact and



telling had he done it himself. He would have given more cohesion to groups which are thrown into the space in the Loggie in a scattered and therefore ineffective manner. It is curious to note how closely the composition of this picture tallies with Vasari's description of Perino del Vaga's work in the Loggie. It may be that Giulio made a first sketch, which he asked Perino to arrange. The composition is full of movement, and possesses elements of grandeur akin to those in the "Deluge" and the "Creation" of the Sixtine Chapel. Scenes of terror and thanksgiving are put together here and there with the subtlety of Lionardo and vigour akin to that of Michaelangelo. But some of the minor incidents dwarf the better ones by triviality. In the execution we note vigorous colour and well-balanced light and shade. But the painting is not that of Giulio or Penni, and is more like that of Perino; and here, therefore, we reach the point where the frescos of the Loggie were no longer executed by the hands of Raphael's two oldest assistants.

The authorship of Perino may appear all the more probable if we look at the drawing of the composition at the Louvre. Like all those which precede it, it is washed in black and white, 10½ inches high by 13. But some Florentine peculiarities may be noticed in the style and handling of the brush, and we observe the peculiar mixture of the antique and Michaelangelo which Vasari describes as being characteristic of Perino del Vaga.\*

4. Moses, amidst the wondering gestures and exclamations of Israel, strides up to the rock out of which the water spouts at his bidding, whilst the Lord appears above the rock attended by angels. In the rugged landscape which forms the background the trees are all leafless. Moses, a fine life-like figure, and the elders behind Moses, are all more or less imitations of the antique

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\* Passavant (ii. p. 465) attributes this drawing to Raphael. It belonged successively to the Jabach, Crozat, C. Jennings, Willes, Duroveray, Dimsdale, Lawrence, and King William of Holland collections. The Windsor replica of the Louvre drawing does not appear to be original. It is done on unusually dark paper. Another

is mentioned in the Roscoe Collection at Liverpool, a third at the Albertina.

We have already pointed out (Deluge, *antea*) the error which consists in attributing the drawing No. 105 at Oxford to Raphael, and considering it a study for the "Passage of the Red Sea."



type of Greek philosopher. But here the execution takes us back to Giulio Romano, who is also the draughtsman of the much-worn design at the Uffizi.\*

The composition of the eighth bronze monochrome, recognizable from Bartoli's print, represents the gathering of the manna. The style of Michaelangelo, and the spirit of classic bas-relief, are combined in it. Moses, accompanied by Aaron and the elders, waves his wand, and animated groups of people fill vases with the manna. The name of Perino naturally suggests itself. The drawing in pen and umber of this subject in the Teyler Collection at Haarlem is supposed by Passavant (ii. 459) to be by Raphael. But its genuineness, even as a work of Raphael's disciples, seems to us to be doubtful.

The Life of Moses is continued in the ninth cupola, in which there is no basement monochrome, on account of the opening being a door.

1. God the Father with an escort of angels, one of which sounds a flourish, sits in profile, partly concealed by cloud, and delivers the tables of the law to Moses, who kneels on the ledge of a precipitous rock. Two elders who have reached a pinnacle to the left somewhat below Moses look in wonder at the miracle, whilst the Israelites, far beneath, crowd the ground in front of their tents. It is here that Raphael, or Giulio, first incurs the reproach of being unscriptural in the rendering of a gospel subject. The drawing, in the usual materials, at the Louvre, squared for transfer, was in the Jabach collection (12 inches high by 10), and is as spirited as the fresco. A copy of it may be seen in the print-room at Berlin,—a pen outline by one of Raphael's followers.

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\* There are copies of this drawing in the Santarelli Collection at Florence and at Oxford. The latter is numbered 106. 9 in. h. by 11½.

2. The people of Israel kneel, stand, or dance round a square altar on which a golden calf is placed. Moses on a shelf of rock at some distance behind the altar exhibits his grief. The tables lie on the ground at his feet. The execution is attributable in this as well as in the first wall painting of the cupola to Giulio Romano and Penni. There are distinct reminiscences in the disappointed Moses of Raphael's "St. Paul at Lystra." The drawing at the Uffizi, a counterpart of the fresco, is feebler than that of Moses receiving the tables at the Louvre, and suggests the name of Polidoro.

3. Moses kneels to the right under the shadow of his tent, whilst the idol is consumed by fire in the midst of the camp. Moses appears in this fresco less aged than in earlier numbers of the series. But the whole picture, besides exhibiting unusual signs of decay, seems executed by a feeble hand.

4. Moses, attended by three of the elders, stands on a ledge at the foot of a cliff and displays the tables to the Israelites who bend, or kneel, on the low ground beneath the rocks. The lines of this fine composition are well arranged, and several of the figures are as grand in conception as those of the cartoons. This remark applies in a special way to the hoary Moses, and a youth on his knees, leaning on a staff on the verge of the foreground. The light is so managed as to illumine one-half of each person. But besides this a chance shadow is thrown over a whole group of people in the background.

This fresco has been assigned to Raphael del Colle, but it seems impossible to ignore the tests of style and treatment which prove that the painter was Giulio Romano. A feeble sketch of the Moses in black and white water-colour is in the Windsor collection; a drawing of the same subject is registered in the Jabach Collection, 12 inches high by 13½.

Thus far, we follow Giulio Romano and Penni, who take the lion's share of work in the Loggie, and casually transfer the brush to subordinates. The tenth cupola, which is dedicated to the acts of Joshua, reveals the appointment of Perino del Vaga to a more responsible station than he had yet occupied.

1. A captain in a plumed helmet and Roman panoply turns to give the order of march to the Israelites who are about to cross the Jordan. The head of the column is formed by the bearers of the ark, guarded to the right by soldiers who move with their pikes to the front. The lane miraculously opened for the passage of the forces is indicated on the left by a seated river-god, of antique character, who looks round whilst arresting the fall of the wave which curls over him. Behind the ark to the right and in the midst of the Israelites, Joshua on horseback raises his joined hands to heaven. Vasari assigns this fresco with perfect propriety to Perino del Vaga.\* It is executed with great energy, and a vigorous display of movement in figures of short and muscular make. The colours are harmonized in light keys. We note the study of præ-Christian art in the allegorical Jordan, the study of Raphael's "Attila" in the winding Israelite army.†

2. Two drummers to the right beat a charge, and the Israelites in arms to the left advance in line covered with their shields to the assault of Jericho, the walls of which have already been scaled. The forts are bursting, and a round tower toppling down amidst flames. To the left, the ark and its bearers and people carrying banners complete the picture. Here, again, the scene is hardly scriptural. The painter seems to be Perino del Vaga. The drawing at the Albertina differs in material and form from others of the series in the Loggia. Pen-sketch, 9½ inches high by 1½.

3. In front to the right a prostrate Amorite lies on the ground presenting his head and shoulders to the spectators. A victorious Israelite stoops over him, whilst another Amorite, next to the left, receives a wound from the lance of one of Joshua's followers. To the left of these, again, a soldier points his lance at the foremost of a line of infantry, bending or kneeling under their shields, whilst their opponents attack them with darts in front—fired in their impetus by Joshua, who towers on horseback above the fray, and arrests the course of the sun and moon. The reminiscences which strike us here are those of Raphael's "Battle of Ostia." But, as usual, the spirit of the master is not in the work of his deputy, who only imparts vigour to single incidents

\* Vas., x. 143.

† A drawing for this subject, in black and white water-colour, | 10 in. h. by 12, was in the Jauch Collection.

which have not the unity required for a perfectly homogeneous composition. Perino, who painted this fresco, as we judge by the style and treatment, makes a better show than in the earlier numbers of this series.\* Passavant (ii. p. 181) describes a cartoon of this subject by Giulio Romano which was bought in Florence from the family of Gaddi by the late William Lock. The loss of this cartoon is to be regretted. Its presence in Florence would warrant us in assigning the work to Perino rather than to Giulio.

4. Joshua, with the regal crown on his head, sits under a *daïs*, attended by the high priest Eleazar, to the left. Before him a youth draws the lots from a couple of urns, and hands one of the papers to a bystander. The people of Israel are grouped together near the boy. Some have received their papers, and others point significantly to the place where the lands allotted to them are situate. Some of the crowd are in the barbarian dress of the *Elymas* of the cartoons. Perino, whose style we again recognize, appears to have assistants in this work, which is feebler than the rest of the series. Yet the pen and umber sketch of the composition at Windsor, which differs in treatment from the usual run of the designs for the Loggie, is masterly.† It seems to have been the groundwork, by Giulio Romano, for another drawing in black and white water-colour at the Louvre, which apparently was the sheet used for the transfer of the composition to the wall. A replica of the Louvre drawing at the Ambrosiana of Milan is but a copy.

Passavant (ii. 459) thinks that the original sketch for the ninth bronze monochrome, representing Joshua addressing the people of Israel, is in the Teyler Collection at Haarlem. But most of the sheets in this collection are of doubtful origin, and the Joshua is no exception.

The life of David is illustrated in the eleventh cupola, the painting of which is due in every case to Perino del Vaga. But Perino's skill is more or less conspicuous according to the proportion of work which

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\* See again Vas., x. p. 143.

† Windsor. Pen and umber, 8 in. h. by 11½.

he executed with his own hand. The compositions appear to be Giulio's or Penni's.

1. In a room of antique architecture, near an altar on which a fire is prepared, Samuel anoints David king of Israel, in the presence of the elders. A man behind the altar to the left holds the ram intended for sacrifice; the sacrificial priests stand near him. The composition is not of the best, and might be assigned to Penni. The execution is that of Perino, with help from subordinates.

2. The giant form of Goliath lies on the ground. The crown of the head is presented to the spectator, and the left arm is in the slings of a shield which lies on the ground. David, in the garb of a shepherd, rests his knee on the giant's body, and raises his sword to strike. In the foreground to the left, an armed Philistine retires hastily, followed by his countrymen of various ages. Behind David to the right, the Israelites are still fighting the enemy with their lances. The spirit of the composition, and the technical handling, are similar to those of Perino in the victory over the Amorites. Indeed, the soldier in the background to the right, seen from behind as he strikes with his lance, is almost similar in both pictures. But the composition is probably by Giulio, who doubtless had before him a fine drawing in black chalk at the Albertina of Vienna, in which Raphael with all the experience of old training threw upon paper the figure of Goliath, David, and the retreating Philistine. The last of these figures is so curiously like one introduced by Titian into his "Martyrdom of St. Peter," that we involuntarily inquire whether he did not take his conception of it from Raphael. The drawing was not used in exact reproduction by Giulio or Perino. The David and Goliath are almost a transcript in reverse of Raphael's sketch, which is hardly less grand in its lines than the similar group of Michaelangelo at the Sistine Chapel. But it is extremely doubtful whether Raphael's intervention in this case was direct, since the subject was apparently shaped for the purpose of assisting Marcantonio to produce his celebrated print. The drawing is  $9\frac{1}{2}$  inches high by  $12\frac{1}{2}$ .\*

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\* A complete design for the | 12 in. by  $16\frac{1}{2}$ , was in the Jabach  
whole fresco, in black and white, | Collection.

3. David, triumphant, with the harp at his feet, rides in a chariot drawn by two horses. He follows a train of captives, headed by a captain whose hands are bound behind his back. Trophies are carried on pikes at the far side of the chariot. Behind it, the Israelite host is led by a plumed captain.

This is one of the best treated frescos assignable to Perino, being warm in tone yet almost equal in power to the work of Giulio's hand. The composition is derived from the antique, and particularly recalls one of those on the arch of Titus at Rome. A black and white pen sketch for this fresco, registered in the St. Morys Collection (Pass. ii. p. 533), may possibly be that which is now in the Esterhazy Museum at Pesh.

4. David rests at the window of a palace, whilst the Israelites march past; he sees Bathsheba on the balcony of a house adorned with bas-reliefs. Bathsheba, unconscious or heedless of the crowd, sits in negligent undress combing her hair on the balcony. Passavant, by mistake, describes a drawing of this subject at Oxford, which in reality represents the Queen of Sheba before Solomon (ii. pp. 182 and 499). In the fresco the hand of Perino is still visible, combined with that of his assistants.\*

The drawing for the tenth bronze monochrome, at Oxford (No. 109,  $5\frac{1}{4}$  inches high by  $15\frac{1}{4}$ ), represents David seated on a couch attended by an aged dame, and receiving Bathsheba, who kneels on the floor followed by three men and a woman.

A rejected drawing, perhaps intended for this monochrome, is also at Oxford (No. 100,  $7\frac{1}{4}$  inches high by  $10\frac{1}{4}$ ), and depicts David on a couch to the left giving his charge to Solomon, who sits before him with the crown on his head and a regal mantle on his shoulder. The suite of Solomon is closed to the right by two females.

In both these compositions the treatment is that of Perino del Vaga, the form that of antique bas-reliefs.

The frescos of the twelfth cupola, specially confined to illustrations of the life of Solomon, embody more

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\* A drawing, described by Passavant (ii. p. 535) as a counterpart of the fresco, is said to have been sold at the sale of King William of Holland for sixty florins.

reminiscences of Raphaelic work at various stages of Raphael's career than any of the previous ones. The name of Pellegrino da Modena has been put forward in connection with them, yet proofs of his authorship have not been given with any semblance of authority. Pellegrino was probably born in 1463. It is difficult to conceive that a man of his age and training could have suddenly acquired the Raphaelic bias displayed in the wall paintings of the twelfth cupola, unless we presume that Pellegrino's work was altogether subordinate to that of Giulio Romano and Perino del Vaga.

1. Zadok the high priest, an aged and white-bearded man in a large mantle with his arms and left shoulder bare, takes a forward stride in the centre of a landscape, and, stretching out his right hand, pours the sacramental oil out of a horn on the head of Solomon. The king, poorly dressed in a tunic and gaber-dine, presents his back to the spectator, and shows little more than his nose under a chough of unkempt hair. Two grooms in tight-fitting Umbrian dress hold the head of a mule to the left. In rear of the high priest the people raise their arms to acclaim Solomon, and on the foreground a bearded river-god reposes with one elbow on the head of a lion, holding a sedge in his left and a cornucopia in his right hand.

This composition is full of movement, yet ill-balanced, and in some respects paltry. The cross-legged groom on the left recalls a similar figure in the predella of the "Epiphany" at the Vatican. The river-god is a copy of one in the borders of the tapestries at the Vatican. Technically the fresco has the same character as that of Moses striking the rock in the ninth cupola. The forms are muscular and coarse and in Giulio's mould, yet the modelling is defective and the outlines look empty.

2. Solomon on his throne directs the executioner to divide the child. The latter stands facing the spectator holding the boy by the heel, whilst the true mother runs to arrest the stroke and the

false one points with both hands to the dead infant on the ground. To the right, near the throne, the king's suite, including a female, stand. This composition challenges comparison with that of Raphael in the ceiling of the chamber of the Segnatura. It shows very poorly in contrast with that masterpiece. No doubt the painter of the Loggie had to fill a different space from that of the Camere. But in the long rectangle at his disposal he set the figures in a loose and straggling order. The disproportion of stature between the women in the foreground and the men in the background is as striking as the poverty of the forms and draperies. The mothers, instead of appealing to the judge, are attending solely to the executioner. The only good point in the fresco is that of the man preparing to strike the child, which might be derived from a study by Raphael. The suite is a clump of figures, good if taken singly, but ineffective in the mass. The young man at Solomon's side imitates the gesture of the youth near the proconsul Sergius in the cartoon of the blindness of Elymas. An aged man with his hand to his chin reminds us of St. Paul in the "St. Cecilia" of Bologna, and the head is moulded on Raphael's ideal of St. Peter. The colouring of this quaint medley of Raphaelic creations is like that of earlier frescos which, we have seen, were assigned to Perino del Vaga. The modelling is better, the preservation more perfect, than that of most of the works in this cupola, yet the painting is, on the whole, certainly feeble.

3. Solomon in regal attire, erect on the platform of his throne, receives the Queen of Sheba, who eagerly ascends the steps and looks at the sovereign as she points out the presents she has brought, which her suite are bearing. In front to the left, near the king, a stalwart man stands, with his back to the spectator, directing the attention of the elders of Israel to the movements of the queen. To the right a servant pours out a tribute of coins on the ground. Here the character and build of the figures recall the cartoons, and are decidedly those of Giulio Romano. Yet there is not as much cohesion in the groups as we should expect from Raphael's best disciple. The man pointing to the queen on the left is drawn in the Florentine spirit of Perino del Vaga, and the technical treatment of the fresco also suggests that artist.

4. Solomon and his courtiers are studying the plan of the temple in the Holy of Holies. Masons ascend with hods to the



left, others are hewing stones or hammering and sawing in the foreground. To the right a man is goading two buffaloes. A house to the left partly conceals a round temple and portico, which imitates the architecture of the Pantheon. Further off is a pillar like that of the Trajan or Antonine column. Here, as in the building of the ark, the workmen are well presented, the remainder are mere lay figures.

The second door, leading into the Vatican, opens on this intercolumniation, which in consequence required no bronze monochrome.

The last cupola of the Loggie contains the four traditional subjects of the New Testament, which Vasari attributes to Perino del Vaga.\* They are painted in hexagonal framings like those of the first cupola.

1. Mary kneels in the centre of the picture. On a stone plinth before her the Infant Christ is seated on a white cloth, and in the halo of light which emanates from his person a choir of angels appears, some of whom shed flowers on the group below. St. Joseph to the right grasps the hand of an adoring peasant, and one of two shepherds to the left bears a lamb offering. The classic ruin which forms the background is occupied, as tradition requires, by the ox and the ass. The Tuscan character of this composition, which is equally lively, brilliant, and well arranged, is clear. It was evidently put together and executed by Perino del Vaga in a form and with a feeling quite foreign to Giulio Romano or Penni. Yet the same subject in the tapestries of the second series, in which Giulio Romano took a conspicuous part, is finer and more important than its counterpart here. Unfortunately the ravages of time are very visible in the discoloration of the surfaces and the scaling of important parts. The Virgin's mantle, and the flesh of different figures, are very much abraded.

2. The "Epiphany," more truly in the feeling of Raphael's school than the "Nativity," is also more closely on the lines of the tapestry of the second series, which contains the same subject. In both

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\* Vas., x. p. 143.

pieces the group of the Virgin and Child is alike. Hence the probability that the composition for the Loggie was by Giulio, and not by Perino, who put it on the wall. Behind the foreground the side of the stable of Bethlehem is seen in perspective, and in front of it the Virgin holds the Infant Christ on her lap and raises his foot, on which the eldest of the Magi imprints a kiss. The king's present has passed into the hands of Joseph, who stands to the left of the Virgin. The second king, a negro, kneels behind his elder companion, the third in rear of both. To the right the usual suite of men and horses. There is more unity of thought in this picture than in the last. It is curious to note how closely Titian imitated, in a series of replicas, the principal group of Mary and Christ. Passavant describes a drawing for this fresco as sold at the sale of the King of Holland in 1850 for 50 florins. (Pass. ii. p. 536.)

3. Jordan, in which Christ is standing, is a rill. The Saviour's hands are joined in prayer. St. John, on the bank to the right, pours the water from a bowl. Behind him two angels kneel with garments in their arms, and two more float in the air. To the left the neophytes strip. Severe criticism might object that the figure of Christ is heavy and ill-proportioned, John without dignity or character. But Perino's scale of colours is still bright, and his figures are well relieved by shadow.

If a much-worn pen drawing at Windsor ( $7\frac{1}{4}$  inches high by  $14\frac{1}{2}$ ) should be accepted as belonging to the period of the Loggie, it might be considered, at the best, as a weak production of Perino.\* A copy of the drawing in black chalk, also in the Queen's collection, is not genuine.

4. The "Last Supper," inscribed in the hexagon of the final fresco of the Loggie, is a composition in which the table is a perfect square, presenting one of its angles to the spectator. The apostles are set in threes on benches of antique shape, and Christ presides at the furthest side. But in order to make the principal figure visible, the two disciples at the corner nearest the foreground are imagined turning away and bending in opposite directions, so as to leave an artificial space through which the Redeemer is seen. The result is a group of four balanced by a

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\* This drawing is probably that | the sale of the King of Holland in  
which was sold for 250 florins at | 1850.

group of eight, a lopsided arrangement, not unlike that of the "Descent of the Holy Spirit" in the tapestries of the second series. It is perhaps needless to observe that Raphael would not have thought out the subject in this form. Though he never painted a picture of the Last Supper, he had studied it at different periods, and never abandoned the long table of which the foreground side was left unoccupied. Two of his earliest drawings, at Oxford and Vienna, show the disciples ranged to the right and left of Christ behind the table; a third, at Windsor, re-affirms the same principles of distribution, in a design which Marcantonio engraved. The drawing at Oxford is a study for the left half of a Last Supper. It is a mere embryo or first impression of figures in the usual garb of models, seated, to the number of seven, at a long board. A spirited silver-point outline on grey paper, in which two disciples are seated edgewise at the short front of the table, and five in a line facing the spectator in rear of the long front.\* Though squared for transfer, it is not known to have been used for any picture. A lively representation of men who have met to break a crust and partake of wine and converse together, it produces an impression of perfect simplicity and nature, in persons marked individually by variety of age, movement, feeling, and expression.

A later, yet still a Florentine form of the "Last Supper," is that of the Albertina, which also represents a part of the subject, the disciples again being seated at a long board under the groined vault of a refectory formed of arches supported on square pillars. Here Christ sits in the centre of the space, under a hanging lamp. John bends in tender devotion on the right. Near him a bearded short-haired apostle in deep thought. To the left of the chair there are six disciples. The cloth conceals all but the feet and lower part of the limbs of the sitters. We can fancy rapid pen strokes like this produced by Raphael after looking at Da Vinci's sketches for the masterpiece of Santa Maria delle Grazie at Milan. The style is Lionardesque, the face of Christ in the spirit of Da Vinci and Fra Bartolommeo. On the reverse of the sheet are a St. Sebastian and fragments of torsos. (Pen and umber, 10 inches by 14, from the Viti, Crozat, De Gouvernet, Julian of Parma, and Prince of Ligne collections.)

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\* Oxford. No. 32. 9 in. h. by 13½. From the Antaldi and Lawrence collections. Silverpoint heightened with white.

The final version of the "Last Supper" at Windsor is disposed in the same fashion as the two previous ones, but finished in all its parts on the model of Lionardo. It is  $12\frac{1}{8}$  inches high by  $15\frac{1}{4}$ , and was drawn for Marcantonio's copperplate. The apostles are all connected with each other by action, gesture, and expression. Christ presides and lays both hands on the table as he utters the words which variously move each one of his disciples. A grand symmetry is produced by the two figures at the ends of the board, which alone are fully exposed to view.

None of these varieties of a most trying composition were adopted by the painters of the Loggie. Raphael, perhaps, thought it too difficult to escape from the old and traditional groove in which painters had remained for so many centuries. Giulio Romano or Perino, unappalled by any prospect of failure, tried what their master would probably have avoided. The result was an arrangement altogether conventional and unsatisfactory, yet not without attraction so far as bright tones, and contrasts of light and shade are concerned.

If Giulio designed this piece it was executed by Perino. But Perino was not unassisted, and evidence of inferior handling is noticeable in many places.

The eleventh bronze monochrome, under the eleventh window of the Loggie, represented Christ stepping out of the sepulchre. The lid of the tomb has been pushed aside by a supernatural force, and lies obliquely on its right side. The Redeemer holds the cere-cloth together with one hand, and grasps a long crucifix in the other. The three Maries appear in mourning to the right, whilst the guards form a group of terror-stricken men to the left. The squared design in black and white for this composition, once belonging to Sir Peter Lely, is in the Chatsworth Collection. But one almost equally good is in the Kestner Collection at Hanover.  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches high by 16. The draughtsman is probably Perino del Vaga.

That a series of such importance as the frescos of the Loggie should not have been brought to completion without changes of plan and alterations of subject is in itself probable. But we have evidence of these changes in two or three drawings which are

executed in the form and materials peculiar to the series, without having been subsequently carried out on the wall.

*Preparations for a repast or a sacrifice.* This drawing, in black and white, at Oxford (No. 112, 5 inches by 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ ), is a Raphaelesque design in the style of Penni. To the left, a woman stoops to a vase which rests near an altar or table with antique legs. To the right, a man appears driving a ram which walks on its fore-legs whilst he raises the hind-legs; a child and a woman follow the man with the ram. The space for which this composition was arranged is a lunette.

*The cup of Benjamin found by Joseph.* A man stands with his hand on the sack of Benjamin, and shows the cup which he has found there. Benjamin cries at the sight, and the brethren kneeling or bending about Joseph express their surprise and concern. This spirited pen drawing (No. 311) at the Louvre seems taken piece-meal from early Raphaelesque creations, and put together with rapid and easy pen strokes in the manner of Giulio or Penni. Two kneeling figures on the left are adaptations of those at Pope Gregory's side in the "Disputa." Another, on the extreme left, with his hands clasped, recalls the Evangelist in Raphael's drawings for the "Entombment." A man on the right, stooping to raise or deposit a sack, is taken from the tapestry of the "Stoning of Stephen." Passavant (ii. p. 465) thought this an original by Raphael, which is clearly a mistake. The drawing once belonged to the Jabach, Crozat, and St. Morys collections (Pass. ii. p. 533). 0·21 high by 0·39.

*Joseph, informed that he is to be lowered into the well.* In this rapid pen drawing (No. 527) at the Uffizi, Joseph struggles with the brethren, one of whom looks into the well, which is like a tomb with square sides; others crowd together and look at the well—a rough but very spirited design by Giulio Romano.

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One of the first thoughts of Sebastian del Piombo, after Raphael's death, was the decoration of the Hall of Constantine. The *garzoni* of Raphael were very

brave about the matter. Sebastian said in a letter to Michaelangelo, "I wish to paint it in oil: kindly recommend my services to Cardinal de' Medici." \* Michaelangelo was not loth to second his friend. He wrote in June, 1520, to Bibiena to ask him to give Sebastian a share in the painting of the palace. Sebastian himself had an interview with the Pope in the following October, for the purpose of pleading his own cause, and even engaged Leo to take Michaelangelo into employ as his companion. But Buonarrotti was not willing; † Sebastian was not employed, and during the reign of Clement VII. the Hall of Constantine was finished, as we have seen, in fresco, by Giulio Romano and his friends.

We noted, in a general way, how Giulio divided the labour of completing the Hall of Constantine between himself and several assistants. A short summary will suffice to give an idea of the subjects and the manner in which they were executed.

*The Vision of the Cross.* Constantine, having taken his position on a rostrum in the middle of his camp, looks up to heaven, where three angels are seen carrying a cross, and advancing to the discomfiture of a monster who writhes and perishes at the approach of the emblem of Salvation. Many people observe the strange apparition in the sky, soldiers and others run from the tents, or prepare for a fight, the Emperor's lieutenant is near him, attended by standard-bearers, and on the foreground to the right a buffoon sets a helmet much too large for him on his misshapen head. To the left two pages hold Constantine's head-piece, shield, and sword. The landscape crowded with monuments, such as the

\* Sebastian to Michaelangelo, u. s. Pini, Scritture, No. 143.

† See the proofs in Springer's

Raphael and Michaelangelo, 2nd ed., pp. 204 and ff., and 380.

Mausoleum of Hadrian, the Bridge of Ælius, the Colosseum, and a pyramid, reminds us of other studies initiated by Fulvius and arrested by Raphael's death. Raphael's sketch for the picture, which may perhaps have been the groundwork of the composition, must have been altered—it was certainly changed to its detriment,—by Giulio Romano, who threw much life and energy into the figures of the Emperor, angels, and soldiers, but spoiled the distribution by the introduction of the buffoon and pages. Scanelli is right (*Microcosmo*, p. 154) in assigning this piece to Giulio.

*Baptism of Constantine.* The scene is laid in the Basilica of San Giovanni Laterano, the principal figures being grouped on a flight of steps where Constantine is depicted kneeling with his hands across his breast, and receiving on his bended head the water which Pope Sylvester pours upon it with a cup. The pontiff's left hand is on the gospels held up by an acolyte. On their knees close by are a servant with cloths, a deacon with a salver containing the oils and salt box, and a page with the Emperor's breastplate, sword, and plumed helmet. Behind, the bearer of the crucifix, the processional dais, prelates, and guards; in front to the right, Crispus the Cæsar's son, in Roman costume; to the left a bearded man in the dress of the 16th century, whom Vasari describes as a portrait of Niccolò Vespucci, the favourite of Clement VII. Here again the original sketch may have been furnished by Raphael, but it was put together in a formal manner by Penni, whose minute handling and light scale of pigments is combined with coldness of feeling and vapidness of expression. Raphael's contribution may have been the central arrangement of the Pope and Emperor. Crispus seems painted in the bold style of Giulio Romano. A pen drawing for the whole picture appears to have been preserved till the middle of the 18th century. It was in the Tallard Collection in 1756, but has since been missing (*Pass.* ii. p. 303).

*The Cession of Rome.* The Pope, enthroned to the left in the old Basilica of St. Peter, receives a golden statuette from Constantine, who kneels before him. The scene is enlivened by the usual attendance of cardinals, clergy, and officials. Swiss guardsmen keep back the crowd, trumpeters blow brazen horns. On the high altar, the relics of St. Peter and St. Paul are displayed; under the pillars on the right side we recognise Giulio Romano, on the left Baldassare Castiglione; women and children kneel or play on the foreground, one of them, a naked boy, bestriding a dog. Giulio

Romano's share of this piece is the arrangement and the somewhat formal distribution of the foreground figures: The drawing is coarser, the general tone more neutral and rusty, than his.\* The transfer of the cartoon to the wall thus appears to have been made by an assistant of Giulio, and that assistant is Raphael del Colle, whose contribution to the Farnesina, and the arras of the second series, we can trace by comparison with such pictures as he produced later in the Duchy of Urbino.

Though not a very interesting figure amongst the artists of the school of Raphael and Giulio Romano, Raphael del Colle is not unworthy of attention. His works are very numerous. He was born at Colle, a hamlet within the boundaries of Borgo San Sepolcro, and entered Giulio Romano's service as a pupil (Vasari, xi. p. 1). When that master became a dependent of the Gonzagas, Del Colle followed his fortunes, and afterwards formed an extensive practice at Borgo San Sepolcro, Urbania, Cagli, Pesaro, and Gubbio. There are records to show that he christened a girl at Borgo San Sepolcro on the 4th of January, 1535, and lost three of his children in a fortnight at the same place in 1542. He died on the 17th of September, 1566 (*Appunti Storici su la Valle Tiberina superiore* del Prof. Francesco Corazzini: 8vo, S. Sepolcro, 1865, p. 63). Far away from Rome and in cities where the masterpieces of Raphael were comparatively unknown it was easy for Del Colle to repeat compositions which his own powers would have been quite insufficient to create, and it was perhaps not without applause that he produced an altar-piece of the Resurrection for the Cathedral of Borgo San Sepolcro, which recalled the same subject in the second series of Raphael's tapestries at the Vatican; a fresco with prophets and sibyls, a Holy Family, and a picture of the Virgin raising the veil under which the Infant Christ had been sleeping, for the Brotherhood of Corpus Domini, at Castel Durante (Urbania), which were inspired by the works of Raphael and Michaelangelo, or copied from Raphael's "Madonna of Loretto" and his "Holy Family" of 1518. Not one of these fruits of Del Colle's labours but showed familiarity with the school models of Giulio Romano and his master, and a style or treatment

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\* This fresco is much injured and restored.

A design for it, mentioned by

Passavant (ii. p. 304) as belonging to Mr. Major in London, was not seen by the authors.



fashioned after theirs. Marked characteristics in all these pieces are, brawny forms, sharp outlines, glossy and polished surfaces, clear red-tinged flesh tints, light, gaudy and uniformly crude shades of pigments, and technical handling akin to those which characterize the lunettes with gambols of Amor at the Farnesina, the angels attendant on the figures of Popes, or the allegories on pilasters, or the fresco of the "Cession of Rome," in the Hall of Constantine. It would be possible to register a large number of works of the same class by that prolific artist, *ex. gr.*: a lunette with the Eternal in benediction in the cathedral, and an Assumption in the choir of the Minorites of Borgo San Sepolcro, and an Annunciation and other subjects in Santa Maria de' Servi and other churches at Città di Castello, apparently executed after those of San Sepolcro; a fresco of Christ in Glory attended by St. Catherine, Mary Magdalen, and saints of the Benedictine order, and two scenes from the life of St. Benedict, and an altar-piece of the Nativity, in a chapel at San Pietro; and frescos of the Virgin and Child accompanied by angels, St. Martin sharing his cloak, the Resurrection, and other pieces, in San Domenico of Gubbio; Christ rising from the tomb, and a lunette with the Almighty in the clouds, in the church of the Brotherhood of Corpus Domini at Castel Durante (Urbania); the Virgin and Child with St. John, St. Joseph, St. Anthony the Abbot, St. Peter, St. Paul, and angels, in the Graziani chapel of the church of the Servi at Sant' Angelo in Vado; the Virgin and Child enthroned between St. Roch and St. Sebastian, and adored by St. Anthony of Padua, St. Stephen and a bishop, reading in a book, an altar-piece above the portal inside the church of San Francesco at Cagli, and frescos all but lost in the ruined palace of the Imperiale near Pesaro.

The painter's labours are not all dated, but the Christ in Glory at Gubbio was executed in 1540, the Virgin and Child in a choir of angels at the same place in 1546, the Prophets and Sibyls at Castel Durante, and the altar-piece of Sant' Angelo in Vado in 1543.

Reverting to the frescos of the Popes in the Hall of Constantine:

"St. Peter with the Keys," a grand Raphaelesque figure, is accompanied by two angels who raise the curtain of a dais overhanging the throne. "Ecclesia," on one side of the niche points to the model of the church of St. Peter in its hand. "Eternity," on the other side, wields a pen and looks at a phoenix. Giulio Romano's

work is naturally finer in these figures than that of Raphael del Colle in the allegorical nudes bearing the yoke and ring on the pilasters above.

Clement I. looks up to heaven and rests a closed book on his knee. The angels on the arms of his chair perform the same duty as those near St. Peter. The Pope's mouth and nose are unfortunately damaged by restoring. "Comity," on the right of the niche, has already been described. "Modesty," on the left, holds a bridle, of which the ribands are wound round her shoulders. The allegories on the pilasters by Del Colle are a male and a female, with the yoke and ring as before. Giulio seems to have been assisted by Penni in the painting of the pontiff.

Alexander I. is enthroned. His movement and occupation are but varieties of those noticeable in the Clement. One of the angels near him supports his mantle, the other carries a book. This is one of Giulio Romano's successful ideals of a long defunct Pope. "Faith" is seated and turned towards the pontiff, with her right hand on her breast, and a cup in her left. "Religion" carries two tablets. The pilaster figures as before by Del Colle.

Urban I., like his compeers, with two angels raising the hems of his mantle, is characterized by a noble face and eagle glance. His long beard flows copiously from lip, and chin, and cheek. One hand is raised and open, the other points to the neighbouring "Justice." Here we no longer stand in presence of Giulio Romano's art; but before the work of an abler painter, who appears to have taken up the original fresco and transformed it into a portrait in oil. The treatment is so masterly that we must believe the metamorphose to have been produced by Sebastian del Piombo, perhaps about the time when he ventured to alter some of the figures of the "Battle of Ostia," perhaps with the obvious purpose of showing what he could do to rival the "Justice," executed as we saw in oil by Raphael and his assistants. "Charity," opposite to "Justice," is a fine figure of a matron fondling several children, of which there is a black and white chalk drawing by Penni at Oxford, and a copy drawing at the Louvre (Oxford No. 144, 12 inches high by 6; Louvre, ditto, ditto). The fresco seems to be by Giulio Romano. The pilaster allegories are like others by Del Colle.

Damasus I. is bare-headed, looking up, with his hands joined in prayer. One of the angels near him looks at his opposite

companion, who bears the pontiff's tiara. Two other angels raise the edges of his mantle and stole. "Prudence," on one side, holds the serpent and looks into a mirror, a pagan conception like the Minerva of the Greeks. "Peace" wears a crown of laurel leaves and holds an olive branch. The handling is that of Del Colle. But "Apollo," with his lance and globe, and "Diana," with her spear out of which flames are bursting, are pilaster allegories in the style of Penni.

Leo I. points to a scroll in the hand of one of the angels near him. Two more angels attend, one of whom is about to kiss the Pope's foot. All this by Penni. "Truth," by the same hand, rests her foot on a bough of oak. Her figure is spoiled by retouching. "Purity," with a dove, is, like the two pilaster figures, by Del Colle.

Felix III. looks at a book held by an angel, and prepares to write in another volume, the binding of which is supported by a companion angel. "Force," in armour, rests her foot on a lion's head, whose paw is on a globe. The pilaster allegories are by Del Colle. Above the two neighbouring windows, the Medici arms are emblazoned on shields borne by angels. The whole apparently by Del Colle, from spirited designs prepared by his superiors.

Gregory VII. writes in a book supported by an angel who lifts, as he does so, the pontiff's mantle. A second angel presents an inkstand, a third attends with a book. Spiritual force is the virtue represented at the niche side, with a thunderbolt in her hand, and an open book in her lap.

The episodes in the skirting are done with spirit by an artist whose style recalls what is still known of the works of Polidoro da Caravaggio.

Perino del Vaga is probably the author of the pictures in the window embrasures which display the quick and masterly treatment of the monochromes attributable to him at the Loggie, and the ceiling of the Sala Borgia.

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For those who should feel inclined to enter more fully into the study of Raphael's tapestries of the second series, the following will, it may be hoped, contain sufficient information.

The "Nativity," of which there is a drawing at the Louvre by Giulio Romano,\* and a fragment of cartoon exists representing two shepherds' heads which passed from the Richardsons to the Guise Collection at Oxford (Pass. ii. pp. 220-1 and 514-15), gives a fair idea of the feeling and influences under which the series was conceived and worked out. It embodies reminiscences of Raphael's Sixtine cartoons, as well as adaptations of groups from Roman bas-reliefs, a medley of which we have seen examples in the Loggie.

The Virgin sits in the opening of the gabled front of a penthouse, holding the Child recumbent with its head on her knees and its feet towards her waist, but with both hands outstretched. St. Joseph, to the right, interrupts the play by pointing to the two shepherds who come in on the left, one with a lamb, the other with his dog in a leash. To the right three more shepherds, and in front of them a fourth kneeling with a basket of provisions. Four angels in the sky to the left, two others announcing the Lord's coming in the heavens to the right, complete a picture without the perfect harmony of lines which Raphael would have created, but not inferior to the better class of compositions formed by Giulio Romano, and realized in the Loggie. The tendency to re-edit the work of Raphael is apparent in the kneeling shepherd, whose form we have already seen in one of the cartoons at Kensington, and the companion shepherd moving forward with his hands in prayer, which may be found in the reliefs of the arch of Constantine.

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The "Epiphany" reflects anew some of the impressions which Raphael had taken years before into the "Disputa" from Da Vinci's "Adoration of the Kings" and Filippino's version of the same subject at Florence. Distinct proof of this will be found in a bearded spectator erect in the right foreground, in deep thought and with his forefinger across his mouth, and in a kneeling man close by, both attentive observers of the moment when the senior king, with one knee and one hand on the ground, prepares to kiss the Saviour's foot. Lionardesque again is the second king, in

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\* Louvre. No. 332 of the Catalogue of 1845. Black and white water-colours. 0.30 m. h. by 0.30.

rear of his senior, who steps forward to offer a cup. St. Joseph occupies his usual station near the Virgin, who holds the babe with the king's present in his hand and guides the foot to the monarch's lips. The third king kneels in the foreground to the left. In rear to the right, the usual following of riders and spectators fills the space, completing what may be called the Florentine part of the composition. In rear to the left, quite another form of art is displayed: kneeling people with their hands outstretched, in front of servants riding elephants and other animals, acclaim the Saviour in the form and dress and movements of the prostrate Dacians of the Trajan column who acknowledge with loud demonstrations the sovereignty of the Roman Emperor. We might assign the Tuscan division of the subject to Perino del Vaga, the Roman to Giulio Romano. The style of both is lost under the disguise which the Flemish weavers introduced. Passavant notes a bistre sketch of this piece which passed successively through the collections of King William of Holland and Mr. Woodburn (ii. pp. 221 and 535). Two sketches at Oxford, neither of them by Raphael but in the manner of one of his disciples, may have been first impressions for the composition—No. 122,  $9\frac{1}{2}$  inches high by  $15\frac{1}{2}$ ; No. 123,  $8\frac{1}{2}$  inches high by  $12\frac{1}{4}$ . The forcible movements of the figures in this tapestry are carefully tempered by an ingenious play of light. The movement of the Virgin guiding the Child's foot is the same in the arras and in the Loggie.

The "Presentation in the Temple" reproduces the portico, the lamps, and architecture of Raphael's composition of the "Apostles at the Beautiful Gate." But this repetition of an earlier Raphaelic picture only serves to show the breadth of the chasm which parts work inspired by Raphael from work produced with less inspiration by his disciples. The Virgin, with the Child in her arms, ascends the steps to meet the high priest, who stretches out his arm to receive the Infant. Joseph and three women accompany the Virgin. Two acolytes, the prophetess, and others, are near the high priest.

A drawing at Oxford (No. 124, 10 inches high by 12) might show that Penni drafted the subject of which Marcantonio furnished a copper-plate. Another, equally in the spirit of Raphael's school, is at the Louvre, No. 589 of the Catalogue of 1845: 0.30 m. high by

0·21. A third, of the same character, is known to have passed through the Lely, J. Richardson, J. Roscoe, and Ford collections (Pass. ii. 222). It is probably that now at Chatsworth.

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The "Massacre of the Innocents" differs in many respects from Raphael's composition, as engraved by Marcantonio, but chiefly in this, that, like most compositions for the tapestries of the second series, the arrangement is based on the laws which govern bas-relief; and certain figures are adapted or altered by Giulio or his deputies from Raphael's earlier creations. The subject in this case is divided into three strips, each of which comprises groups forming a picture with an architectural background of its own.

In one strip, the foreground figure to the left recalls in a general way that of Marcantonio's print, which is a woman on the ground on the right side of the composition, holding her child under her right arm to save it from the blow of a passing soldier. Here the action of the mother alone recurs; the soldier drags the child by the leg and stoops, dagger in hand, to kill it. It seems not a little remarkable that this stooping figure recalls that of Raphael in the Venice sketch-book, and only differs from it by holding the dagger in the left hand instead of the right. In rear of this couple three persons, in various movement, are seen above each other in gradations of distance, as they would be in a relief. In the background is a polygonal temple, in the niches of which there are statues of Mars, Venus, and Apollo. The objections which might be taken to this tapestry are:—conventional arrangement, and heavy shape in the figures. But a more serious reproach would be that a Christian theme is completely clothed in pagan dress. Part of the cartoon for this piece of arras was exhibited during a long course of years at the National Gallery. It shows figures above the size of life, in Giulio Romano's robust shape, but altogether changed from their original appearance by repainting in oil, and subsequent wear. The size of this fragment is 9 feet 11 high by 9 feet 3. It belonged to Mr. Hoare, who bequeathed it to the Foundling Hospital. But that Institution kept it for a time in the National Gallery.

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The second strip represents Herod under a colonnade—in a palace to which an approach is formed by a flight of steps which a mother ascends with desperate energy. In front three females

defend their progeny. Before them a guard snatches at a child held by its parent, and the matron claws her antagonist in the face. In advance of all is a mother seated with her hands joined in prayer, mourning over the dead child on her lap. It has been said (Gunn. *Cartonensia*), that her form recalls that of a captive in a bas-relief on a plinth at the Capitol, but this opinion cannot be maintained. The true sources from which it is taken in a modified form are the pictures and frescos of Duccio, Giotto, and Ghirlandaio. The head of the figure ascending the steps, and that of the mourner in the foreground, are fragments of cartoon, preserved—the first in Earl Spencer's Collection at Althorp, the second in the Guise Collection at Oxford. —

The third strip offers another variety of incident. The distance is a landscape. At the edge of the ground to the right, a man stoops, presenting his crown and shoulders to the spectator, to stab a child on the ground. Its mother, some paces further back, raises her arms to heaven. To the left a soldier poises an infant on his knee, and is about to strike, whilst a woman grasps at its legs. Opposite to them a man moves across the space carrying off a boy. His running motion, and outstretched arm, are repetitions in reverse of those in the youth who comes in with a brace of folios in the fresco of the "School of Athens." The small cartoon of this episode in black and white, on light brown paper, in the Turin Library, cannot claim to be more than a feeble copy, either from the original cartoon or from the arras. But in the same repository there exists a combination of the three strips into one picture, with the variety that the composition of the first strip is reversed, and placed between the two others. Thus arranged the picture forms an agreeable whole. But the drawing is not essentially different from that of the spurious small cartoon previously described. It is not known whether the heads of a soldier and two mothers of the third strip of tapestry, mentioned by Passavant (ii. 220), are now in existence. The three drawings in black and white of the Vatican tapestries in the Teyler Collection at Haarlem are of doubtful genuineness as Passavant (ii. 460) admits.

"Christ in the Limbus," as we see in prints of the subject, appears on the right carrying the crucifix and banner. He stoops to seize the arm of a patriarch whose confinement is indicated by an opening in rocks. Various groups surround this one, in front Adam and Eve are kneeling after their rescue. The prints from



which we learn how this tapestry was distributed may have been taken from a Raphaele sketch. But it re-echoes a composition in a northern form, such as Mantegna, amongst others, might have put together. The tapestry was destroyed or mislaid, some say—burnt, in 1798.

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The "Resurrection," a subject which had been composed in a peculiar form in the Loggie, was now required to be set in a different way. There is no evidence that Raphael had any part in the arrangement which came into the arras, yet some features in the composition which recall the "Resurrection" of Giovanni Santi, at Cagli, might allow us to presume that he was not left unconsulted by Giulio Romano, whose marked style is apparent in the burly character and strained action of the figures. Recollecting his father's conception, Raphael might suggest to his disciples the tomb carved in a bluff of solid rock, of which the vertical lid sealed by the priests of Israel, was thrown outward and hurled to the ground. But instead of carrying out Santi's arrangement further by representing Christ with the cross and banner in the air, the shape of the surface to be covered dictated the change by which the Redeemer was made to bless the world as he strode out of the sepulchre. By means of this figure and its surroundings a bold centralization of lines was produced, which was made additionally prominent by landscapes receding to distant mountains, and groups of frightened guards forming divisions in the foreground. There is probably no example of so many figures being brought together in the formation of this subject. The three Maries are seen in the distance coming from Jerusalem. Five men form the watch on the left, seven that on the right. They all rise or take to flight at the appearance of Christ. Of the first group two have fallen over each other, a third starts back, a fourth runs without looking, the fifth turns away and stretches out his hands to the left, but twists his head round for a final glance at the Vision. In the second the captain erect, lance in hand, still stands his ground, but he also is terror-struck, whilst his six followers are cowering on the ground or taking to their heels. The two who have fallen over each other to the left enable us to recognize an adaptation of Lionardo's "Fight for the Standard." The man on the same side who turns his head as he runs is very like a similar figure in Raphael's "Conversion of St. Paul." On the



right a fugitive guard seems derived from Michaelangelo's cartoon of the "Battle of Pisa." We thus obtain in a single picture Raphael's memory of his father's works, and Giulio Romano's appeal to the three masters whom he worshipped all at the same time. The peculiar advantage which Giulio further enjoyed was that of consulting studies from nature which Raphael probably made and partly used for the "Battle of Constantine," such as a soldier down with his shield on the ground, No. 135 at Oxford, which takes us back to the Heliodorus at the Vatican, or the Ananias of the cartoons; a man with his back to the spectator sitting on a stone and raising his right arm for defence, No. 136 at Oxford, unused, but possibly modelled, for the "Battle of Constantine;" a naked man hiding his face as he bends down and holds a battle-axe, a drawing of nude at Windsor, which we examined in connection with the "Liberation of St. Peter" at the Vatican; two soldiers cowering under one shield, chalk, also at Windsor;—all of them creations of Raphael's own pencil, drawn apparently from the same models and many of them lined with that facile power which marked the master in the latest expansion of his practice.

Wherever we find drawings more distinctly connected with the tapestry, the draughtsman is surely one of the school of Raphael or Giulio Romano, amongst whom we must not forget Raphael del Colle, whose "Resurrection of Christ" in the cathedral of Borgo San Sepolcro is composed on lines similar to those in the arras of the second series. Let us mention, as drawings of this class by disciples, No. 125, at Oxford, a black and white water-colour,  $10\frac{1}{4}$  inches high by  $20\frac{1}{4}$ , which is an exact counterpart of the tapestry; and a pen sketch, now belonging to Mr. Mitchell in London, but previously in the Lawrence and Woodburne collections, described by Passavant (ii. 537) as the work of a pupil of Raphael. We need but mention, in passing, No. 134 at Oxford, a Raphaelic drawing ( $8$  inches by  $10\frac{1}{2}$ ), in which an angel is seated on the lid of the tomb, whilst the guards are in varied positions about him. This drawing is not connected with the subject as represented in the arras. Nor in our opinion is it more than a work of the school, in which Raphael's genuine lines are copied and used by one of his followers.

The "*Noli me Tangere*" is a composition of two figures in a landscape, on the left of which the opening of the Sepulchre is seen in a mound of rock. The Magdalen kneels to the left with

her ointment vase in her right hand, and Christ appears to her in a garden enclosed by a cross-trellice fence. The Saviour wears a hat, and is clothed in the folds of a wide mantle. He carries a hoe in his left hand. But this is a coarse picture, with figures of rude shape, more than usually disfigured by Flemish character, and injured by restoring.

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"Christ at Emmaus" is represented sitting behind a long table, at the sides of which the two apostles are seated. Rays of light surround his head in the gloom of the arched hall in which the scene is depicted. The table is covered with a finely embroidered cloth, on which the dishes are placed. To the left, in the wall, a receptacle for water with a basin beneath it. In front to the right, a large bowl or cooler with decanters in it. A dog with a bone growls at a cat. The light from Christ's person is modified by that from the window, but the first throws the two apostles into strong prominence. The drawing in black and white for the subject, No. 126 ( $7\frac{1}{4}$  inches high by  $10\frac{1}{4}$ ) at Oxford, only differs from the tapestry in that Christ is bareheaded in the latter, in the former he wears a low-crowned hat. The drawing is in the usual style of the disciples of Raphael.

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The "Ascension," being a subject akin to that of the "Transfiguration," on which Raphael was busy in the last period of his career, benefited by the studies which Raphael made for that picture. The movement of the Saviour in the arras is so far like that of the "Transfiguration" that the figure is suspended in the air and the arms are outstretched. It differs in this, that instead of being seen at three-quarters to the left, it is taken at three-quarters to the right. A drawing, No. 687 at Lille, rapidly outlined with a pen, and assigned, not without hesitation and doubt, to Raphael, shows the Saviour rising to heaven attended by a circle of angels.\* It has more in common with the picture than the tapestry, but differs from both in the attendant angels. In the "Transfiguration," the prophets rise at the Redeemer's sides. In the "Ascension" of the arras, Christ is accompanied by two seraphs, one of them flying head foremost, the other feet foremost, in the space.

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\* Pass., ii. p. 481.

Neither of them have their counterpart in the drawing at Lille; they remind us more of the "Madonna del Baldacchino." It might be that the drawing was studied as a first impression by Raphael on the one hand, and used by Raphael's disciples on the other, but this would only be true if the genuineness of the Lille sketch could be granted. We confess our inability to make that concession.

In the landscape beneath the Redeemer, in the tapestry, the traditional groups of the apostles are in two divisions in the foreground. Their attitudes are varied, some are Florentine, others Roman in character, one reminds us of the cartoons, another of the "Transfiguration," a natural medley, if we consider the circumstances under which the composition was arranged. The forms are all in the mould of Giulio Romano.

The "Descent of the Holy Spirit" has much the same relation to the "Last Supper," in regard to distribution, as the "Ascension" to the "Transfiguration." The Virgin sits at the far side of the space with one of the women attending her. The apostles sit in a semicircle, surprised to see the dove hovering over Mary's head, and shedding its light on the scene. Above the disciples, tongues of fire appear. The style of Giulio is very manifest in the large build of the figures, and their strained movement.

The series is completed by an allegory of the ecclesiastical virtues. A figure of Religion sits on a rainbow, accompanied by a diminutive angel with an open book. The feet of Religion rest on a crystal globe in which images of fire and war are reflected. Charity and Justice, to the right and left, complete the picture, beneath which two lions bear standards on which the papal dais and keys are embroidered.

An inscription on the lower border of the arras tells how the cloth was repaired under the papacy of Pius VI. At that date, no doubt the whole series was patched and restored, which may account for its present worn and dilapidated state.

Sixteen fragments of cartoons, chiefly hands and feet and bits of drapery, (No. 127) at Oxford, represent portions of the cartoons for the tapestries, of which the foregoing is a description. They

are all feeble enough to warrant us in assuming that the draughtsmen were disciples of the schools of Raphael and Giulio Romano. They once formed part of the large collection of the Richardsons, at the beginning of the 18th century.

Of greater interest, as illustrating the art bequeathed by Raphael to his executors, than the arras of the second series, or the wall paintings of the Magliana and Villa Madama, are the fragments which are the only remnants left of the decoration of a habitation once in a park outside the Pincian gate at Rome. In old itineraries the villa is said to have belonged to Raphael; and here, it is said (we may think erroneously), he retired with his disciples to enjoy the pleasures of a country life. Nothing is known of the history of the edifice beyond the fact that it was bought in 1785 by Cardinal Giuseppe Doria from the Marquis Olgiati, became later the property of the family of Bevilacqua, and fell into ruin in the middle of the present century.\* Prince Borghese ordered several of the frescos to be removed in 1848, and these are now in part under glass in the Borghese Palace at Rome. In the Hermitage at St. Petersburg is another number of the series subsequently removed by the Marquis Campana. The villa itself was razed to the ground by order of the Roman revolutionary committee, in 1848. It is not our purpose to describe the numerous classic subjects with which the villa was adorned by artists of the school of Giulio Romano. Two only of the wall paintings of the series seem connected with the master of Urbino, and these are the "Nuptials of Alexander and Roxana," for which his sketch study in red chalk is preserved in the Albertina at Vienna, and the "Rape of Helen," of which there is a preparatory design exhibited in the gallery of Oxford.

The Vienna drawing is admirable for grace, variety of movement, and balanced distribution; the pencil stroke is deft yet careful, the modelling of the nude beyond description fine and correct. Alexander moves towards Roxana in the centre of the composition, and stretches out one arm as if to address her, whilst he raises an imaginary drapery with the left hand. His frame is ideally

\* Consult Vasari, F. Nibby, R. Venuti, and Pungileoni, Raphael pp. 175, 176.

proportioned like that of the antique Apollo, and he is led by a playful boy of equally symmetrical shape. Roxana on a seat to the left looks bashfully down as a winged child kneels before her to untie her sandal. Her right hand is on the cushions, her left on her bosom. Eros, behind Roxana, holds a cincture with which her forehead is bound. Her shape reminds us of that which Raphael created for the goddesses of the Farnesina Lodge. In rear to the left of Alexander, Hephæstion holds a torch, and Hymen points to the bride. With gleeful motion children on the floor to the right carry off Alexander's lance and shield, and one of the Amors sits like a young Bacchus on the hollow of the shield, which four of his companions exert themselves to raise. In front of all a solitary playmate has fallen, as if thrown out of the game by his comrades; he looks, as he rises on his hands, at his companions. Though studied from models, all these beings come with grace or playful humour into the picture, as if, in the process of transfer to the paper, they had been transfigured in the master's mind into something more ideal and select than nature itself in its every-day aspect.\* The style and the execution are not of the realistic period which produced the "Transfiguration," but of that which witnessed the completion of the "Sixtine Madonna." The drawing reminds us, so far as the children are concerned, of early sketches at Venice—the boys playing with a sucking pig (XXV., No. 10), or boys in dancing motion (XXV., No. 8); or later ones, such as the group of three on a drawing of the Florentine period in which two mischievous ones squeeze their companion between them. The feeling which pervades these groups is that of Luca della Robbia, in his celebrated reliefs of boys playing musical instruments now at the Uffizi, and Donatello's grand relief (No. 373) in the same collection representing children performing various gambols. Of a later time than the Venice sketches, the bolder one, above described, is more skilfully and rapidly drawn, more powerful in the forming of the parts, more in unison on that account with later sketches, contemporary with the "Sixtine Madonna," which we notice in the gallery and Guise Collection at Oxford. In both of the sheets of Oxford, the play-

\* Vienna. Albertina. Red chalk, 8½ in. h. by 12, bought by Rubens at Rome, then in the Bentivoglio,

Crozat, Vaurose, Saxe-Teschen, and Ligne collections.

fulness which enlivens the composition of "Alexander's Nuptials" is conspicuous. In the first is a group of children carrying a comrade to a fountain where another child is being ducked by two of his fellows.\* In the second, cupids are sporting and playing with an animal, meant perhaps for the hare tormented by the companions of Venus in Titian's celebrated picture at Madrid.† We are almost tempted, when looking at these designs, to connect them with the efforts which Raphael made to produce a picture for Alphonzo of Ferrara in 1517, a picture of which we remember that nothing came after a long and fruitless correspondence. It seems very probable that such fugitive pieces were left, together with the composition of "Alexander and Roxana," in the portfolios which Raphael bequeathed to Giulio and Penni, and were then used at the villa on the Pincian hill by disciples who lost in their adaptation the humour, the grace, and perfection of the master on whose relics they were living. The fresco of "Alexander and Roxana," as preserved in a bad state at the Borghese Palace, is inferior to the work even of Penni or Perino del Vaga. It differs from the sketch, by the addition of the draperies and the helmet on Alexander's head, by the spreading of the composition over a larger oblong, and the clothing of the boy sprawling on the ground in the king's breast-plate. The execution is cold, vapid, and stiff.‡ The artist is one who was enabled to copy other originals than those of Raphael in the companion fresco of "Vertumnus and Pomona," and the so-called "Bersaglio," the latter being taken from Michaelangelo's admirable sketch of athletes throwing at a disc at Windsor.

\* Oxford. Guise Collection, No. 2.  
Pen and ink drawing, 5½ in. h. by 8½.

† Oxford Gallery. No. 51. 8 in. h. by 11. On the right side of the groups of children is a contadina carrying a baby; on the back of the sheet a woman with things in her apron. Such drawings as those of the Oxford Gallery and Guise Collection are obviously the models which were used for gambols of children by Raphael's disciples. They were woven in

tapestries, and engraved by contemporary burins—*ex. gr.* cupids playing in a wood, holding the sceptre and keys, riding an ostrich, or quarrelling with a monkey published by the Master of the Die. (See Pass., ii. 225–6.)

‡ Of the fresco there is a drawing at Windsor Castle, and another in the Louvre, No. 581 of the Catalogue of 1845. 0·31 h. by 0·37. Pen and umber wash, heightened with white, both un-Raphaelic.

The fourth fresco at Petersburg seems earlier in date than the rest. It represents the embarkation of Helen, whose ravishers are pursued to the landing near the palace of Menelaus by soldiers. It differs in conception from Raphael's sketch at Oxford, which delineates the capture of Helen by two men, who receive assistance from a third whilst a fourth defends with his shield the kneeling form of a fifth. Though much worn and retouched in the outlines, this sketch of nudes is quite in Raphael's character, and was perhaps one of the series from which the fresco was taken by an artist of the school of Polidoro.\* That the picture was considered to have an exalted origin is shown in the engraving which was taken from it by Marco da Ravenna.†

We spoke, in the first chapter of this volume (pp. 38 and 41-3) of the relation which apparently existed between the six winged seraphs, in the sky of the "Disputa," and the allegories of the Hours of which the designs were attributed to Raphael. We said that time had obliterated the traces of the spot where the master was supposed to have painted these figures, but that circumstantial proofs might be adduced to show that Raphael had had the means of studying the originals of classic figures which served in part to guide him in the production of the seraphs of the "Disputa," and the "Galatea" of the Farnesina; we added that the same models, or Raphael's adaptations of them, had been subsequently taken for the Hours which were painted by Giovanni da Udine and Perino del Vaga in the Sala Borgia at the Vatican.

According to Passavant (Raphael, ii. 353) the Hours "were executed by some disciple of Raphael in the interior of a Roman palace." A modern writer (P. Schönfeld in the supplement No. 27 to the *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* of 1881, pp. 437-8), after quoting Passavant, affirms that the assumption of historians as to the place in which the Hours were displayed can neither be

\* Oxford Gallery. No. 132. Pen sketch. 10 in. h. by 16. Bleached, worn, and, having been in part obliterated, run over afresh.

† St. Petersburg. Hermitage. No. 55. A "Rape of Helen," at Chatsworth, assigned to Raphael,

gives this subject in another form, Paris directing the proceedings of his people, who carry off Helen to the boat in which the sailors are busy heaving the anchor and letting go the ropes (twenty figures).



proved nor disproved, but "that to affirm that they were in the Vatican, was equivalent to confounding them with another cycle of frescos which Raphael left in the bath-room of Cardinal Bibiena."

That the Hours are due to Raphael's disciples, there is no reason to doubt; that they had their origin in sketches made by Raphael himself is all the more probable, because none of his disciples were capable of creating figures so completely in the spirit of the antique, yet so fully impressed with the stamp of the Italian revival, as they are. The question which still remains to be decided is where these Hours were placed, and how it can be shown that they were part of the decoration of the Sala Borgia at the Vatican.

Vasari says that the ceiling of the Sala Borgia was painted by Giovanni da Udine and Perino del Vaga (x. p. 144). Looking at the decorations as they now stand, with the help of the fine outline engraving of Agostino Penna (Penna died in 1881 or 1882), we observe the surface beautifully divided into compartments; in the centre a rose with a broad and highly ornamented border containing a dance of four Victories, the rose in a square adorned with figures in stucco; at each side of the square an oblong strip, with Apollo in a car drawn by three horses on the one hand, and a lion on the other; to the right and left of the space enclosing all these subjects, two fan-like or mushroom-like surfaces, in which stuccos of Venus and Saturn standing on pedestals are placed; beneath the latter, in the curve uniting the ceiling to the wall, an oval, inclosing a bear in stucco; under the former, an oval in which is a galley, also in stucco. The rest of the decoration, the Planets and Signs of the Zodiac, consists of frescos in rectangles, hexagons, and rounds, enframed in ornament and flanked at the corners by trophies bearing the papal tiara, the cross keys, and tablets on shafts resting on the heads of females.

Previous to 1805-6, as we learn from a rare print by Montagnani, the ceiling was decorated in a form different from that which we now see.\* The fan-like surfaces were filled with frescos of the subjects now in stucco in the rounds of the curve uniting the ceiling to the wall, and *vice versâ*, the rounds were filled with frescos

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\* The copper-plates of Peter and Paul Montagnani are of the close of the 18th century, *ex. gr.* :

the Loggie, in 53 plates, were engraved by them in 1790.



of the subjects now in stucco in the fan-like spaces. The Apollo and lion were transposed ; but most important and interesting of all, the square circumscribing the central rose was not decorated with stuccos. It contained frescos of the twelve figures of the Hours in threes, on two sides of the rectangle, resting, as handed down to us in the copper-plates engraved by Fosseyeux and his comrades in 1805 and 1806, not on the air, but on flowers rising from antique meanders. Montagnani's plate and its contents are certified by the following words : " Volta della Sala Borgia nel Palazzo Vaticano ove sono espressi i Pianeti, le Ore del giorno, ed i segni del Zodiaco dell' immortal Raffaello Sanzio da Urbino." On the tablets of the trophies we likewise read : " LEO X. P. M.," which shows that the frescos were painted in the pontificate of Raphael's patron, and if we believe Vasari, who in this deserves absolute credence, not by Raphael himself, but by his pupils, Giovanni da Udine and Perino del Vaga. The point which is still obscure is : when the ceiling of the Sala Borgia was altered ? We saw (*antea*, pp. 38-41) that the Hours were identical with antique figures engraved by Piranesi from wall decorations at Herculaneum. We suggested that they might have been seen in originals extant at Rome in the 16th century, used as models by South Italian artists before the great eruption of Vesuvius. It may be that the originals were at Herculaneum and were copied by Roman imitators before the opening of the Christian era. Under all circumstances we have in the Hours, as well as in the remaining delineations of the Planets and Signs of the Zodiac, adaptations from the antique which were in Raphael's hands when he painted the " Disputa " and the " Parnassus," the " Galatea," and the lodge of the Farnesina, and were considered fit for reproduction, perhaps under Raphael's supervision, by his disciples in the Sala Borgia. The style of the paintings which remain is certainly that of men still imbued with the maxims of Raphael. But the Planets exhibit more ample shapes and display more muscular strength than were habitual in Raphael. The treatment is careful and minute, but the flesh tints are modelled in different shades of the same ruddy pigments, the dresses are gaudy, and the distribution of light and shade indistinct. The treatment in fact is the same as that of Perino del Vaga in the skirtings beneath the windows of the Loggie of the Vatican.

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We shall complete this notice of work done on Raphael's lines and with the help of his sketches, by a few remarks on pictures of which the Raphaelic origin is doubtful or only based on Raphaelic drawings, and pictures in which the treatment reveals either the hand of disciples or the style of imitators of Raphael. Interspersed amongst these notices a few will be found which tend to show how often subjects were ascribed to Raphael or his followers which none of them could ever have painted.

*The Virgin in the Ruins.* Bankes Collection, Kingston Lacy. A sketch by Raphael, carried out by a disciple or follower of his manner, whose impressions hardly date further back than the period of the Loggie of the Vatican: such is the impression which this picture produces. The Virgin stands in front of a ruin holding a light girdle bound round the Infant Saviour's waist. He sits on the capital of a pillar that has fallen from the ruins, and looks up at his mother as if for permission to seize the reed cross which the boy Baptist is holding in a kneeling attitude to the left. In the distance, under an arch on the same side, St. Joseph gropes his way with a lantern; and far away on the hills to the right, we see the basilica of St. Peter with its cupola as planned by Bramante and Raphael, and the Colosseum, in rear of a fragment of a pagan temple. Nearer the foreground on a rocky promontory, two domed towers stand out against the sky. There are reminiscences here of the *Madonnas dell' Impannata*, *della Perla*, and under the Oak; recollections of still earlier Raphaelic works in the kneeling Baptist. The figures are in the light of the sun at daybreak, when the luminary is low and casts almost horizontal shadows. The composition lacks the true harmony and balance of an original work of Raphael, the figures are wanting in the freedom and grace of movement which were exclusively his, and the same may be said of the colour, which is dusky and brown and not tempered by atmosphere. The execution appears to be that of Giulio or his assistants Penni and Polidoro. The picture, attributed by Waagen (*Treasures Supplement*) to Giulio Romano, is on panel, 32 inches high by 22, and was exhibited at the Royal Academy (No. 61) in 1870. It bears the burnt impress on the back of it of the crown, with the initials C. R., which prove that it once belonged to Charles I. It is said to have come later into the Escorial, and to have been removed from thence in the beginning of the present century.

A replica in the late Zir Collection has since passed into the hands of General Bosco at Naples. It is of the same size as the Bankes example, but differs from it in the landscape, in which the basilica of St. Peter is not introduced. In the foreground too there is an addition in the shape of a scroll on which the words "A. DE." are written, and St. Joseph is not under the arch but under a Renaissance gateway. The manual treatment of this piece points to Jacopo Siculo, a distant imitator of the manner of the Raphaelites. This picture is possibly identical with that described by Passavant (ii. 333) as belonging to a Roman dealer named Gaetano Menchetti. Passavant also notes a copy in the Malaspina Collection at Pavia, another in Paris.

*Madonna del Passeggio*, from the Queen Christine, Duke of Bracciano, and Orleans collections. 2 feet 9 high by 1 foot 11. The pretty picture which bears this name belongs to the Earl of Ellesmere. It represents the Virgin stopping in a country walk and supporting the boy Redeemer by the arms, as, halting at her side, he puts his hand on the shoulder of the young Baptist. John has run up to his youthful companion and bends before him, bearing the reed cross and scroll, and the two faces meet as if for a kiss. Behind a bush at the foot of a tree to the left, St. Joseph stops on the way and looks round to watch the greeting of the children. Uneven ground beyond stretches under the shadow of a passing cloud and rises to the right into a bank of wooded rocks. A river winds through a valley receding into distance. There is some novelty in this form of composition which may have had its origin in some sketch by Raphael. But even the landscape, which is the prettiest of its kind in pictures of this class, is not by Raphael. Stiffness and affectation are not wanting in the sculptural forms of the Infant Christ. The execution and colouring are moderately successful, the drawing in parts incorrect. But the careful manipulation of the surfaces is more cold than pleasing; there is some crudeness of tints, and we may think the work to have come from the hand of Penni. Many copies of this piece exist, all taken from the Ellesmere example, viz. :—Naples Museum: from the Farnese Collection, a feebly executed replica on panel of the same size as the original. Kedleston Hall: feebler than the copy at Naples. Rome, Palazzo Doria: weaker again than the foregoing. For other specimens see Pass., *u. s.* ii. 331-2.

*Small Holy Family* of the Louvre, No. 365. Wood, 0·38 high by

0·32. In front of the ruins of an old country dwelling overrun with forest growth, the Virgin rests on a rustic seat, and watches the play of the Infant Christ and the young Baptist who kneels on the lap of St. Elisabeth. The children bend to each other across the Virgin's lap, Christ to the right stands on the rounded stone cradle and takes the head of his playmate in his two hands, John to the left affectionately receiving the caress. St. Elisabeth, in profile, wears the traditional turban made fast by a sash running round her chin. The form and surroundings of this picture are reminiscent of the time when the Madonnas of the Pearl and under the Oak were produced in Raphael's painting-room, the faces recall the "Visitation" of Madrid; a pleasant effect is presented by the relief of the figures in light against the dark mass of wall and trees. The pigments are treated broadly and with profusion; and a ruddiness of tone in the flesh has suggested that Garofolo, at one time a student of Raphael, may have been the painter; but the style is that of Raphael's school about 1518, the composition is in the spirit of Raphael at that time, and the handling is like that of Polidoro da Caravaggio, whose acquaintance we made in the Loggie, who inherited the manner of Raphael under the supervision of Giulio Romano, and acquired a certain fire and breadth of touch in contrast with those of other followers of the Raphaelic school. To this Holy Family, which was part of a diptych, we possess the lid or upper side, in the shape of a panel at the Louvre containing a figure of Abundance in a niche, resting with a cornucopia against a pillar on a polygonal pedestal supported by a grotesque mask. This panel, No. 375, is m. 0·31 high by 0·31, and reveals the hand of Penni, proving that the diptych was executed in the painting-room which Giulio and his partner kept after Raphael's death. Both the Holy Family and the Abundance belonged originally to Gouffier Cardinal de Boissy, and subsequently came into possession of the Abbé Louis Henri de Lomenie, Count of Brienne (1662), who sold it to the royal collection of France in 1669, as is shown in Felibien's *Entretiens*, and a notice of the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1881, p. 309. The Gouffiers thus owned two pictures of Raphael's school, the Baptist of the Louvre and the Holy Family just described. The words RAPHAEL VRBINAS on the Abundance are modern. The silver-point sketch of the composition in the Windsor Royal Collection is evidently a copy from the picture.

A good replica of the original exists in the hands of Mr. Schreiner at Düsseldorf. But whether this replica is one of those noticed by Passavant (ii. p. 265), it is impossible to say.

*The Holy Family*, Virgin, Child, boy Baptist, and Joseph holding an ass under a palm in a landscape, No. 361, 1·55 high by 1·14, at the Vienna Museum, is a composition which may have a Raphaelic origin; so far as the lines of the distribution are concerned. But it is now admitted to be a school picture contributed by the partnership of Giulio Romano and Penni, after 1520. As such it requires little further comment here. It is to be borne in mind that, as a work of art, it is superior in every respect to the "Virgin of the Ruins," the "Madonna del Passeggio," and the small Holy Family of the Louvre, and was probably executed earlier.

*The Five Saints.* The Saviour in glory and crowned with thorns is seated in clouds with his arms outstretched, attended by the adoring Virgin on the left, and St. John the Baptist on the right. On the foreground beneath the clouds, St. Paul stands in grave thought, carrying a naked sword; on the other side St. Catherine sits in ecstasy. This picture No. 371 ( $3\frac{5}{8}$  inches high by  $3\frac{1}{2}$ ) in the gallery of Parma, is taken apparently from a first thought by Raphael, worked out afterwards into a drawing by Giulio Romano and Penni. This drawing, No 320, 0·41 high by 0·29, in the collection of the Louvre (pen, and bistre wash heightened with white), is on the same lines as the plate engraved by Marcantonio. The picture was once on an altar in San Paolo at Parma. It is in the style of Penni, and not free from cleaning and repainting. The upper figures are varieties of those in the "Disputa," the St. Catherine graceful, St. Paul not without grandeur, but the outlines very marked and stiff, and the figures without the depth of feeling which characterized Raphael. The name of Penni in connection with this piece is all the more justifiable, because the execution as well as the conception is very like that of the altar-piece of the Virgin and Child, and St. Anne, between St. Peter and St. Paul, by Penni in the chapel of the sacristy of St. Peter at Rome.

*The Apostles.* These figures, obviously derived from Raphael's designs, are engraved in a series of copper-plates by Marcantonio. St. Peter with the keys recalls the fine impersonation of the saint led away by the angel in the "Deliverance of Peter" in the Camera dell' Eliodoro. St. Matthew, stroking his beard, is a companion piece. Both are conceived in the spirit of Masaccio's grand

apostles in the "Cure of the Lame" at the Carmine. St. Bartholomew with the knife seems a reminiscence of the St. Paul in the "St. Cecilia" of Bologna. Each of the remaining apostles is characterized by severe dignity of mien and a noble presence, and appropriate variety of movement and expression. Their draperies are in every case admirably cast. The drawings which Raphael must have made for them were necessarily executed about the time when the chamber of Eliodoro was near completion. The stern calm which marks them all is reflected in the cartoons for the Sistine Chapel, without any of the realism which marks the disciples in the "Transfiguration." Marcantonio shows himself here a worthy interpreter of the thoughts of his great contemporary.

*Holy Family.* Wood 4 feet high by 2 feet 10, in the Santangelo Collection at Naples, but previously, under the name of Raphael, in the gallery of the Prince of Tarsia at Naples. The Virgin sits in a classic chair, with the Infant Christ taking the scroll from the boy Baptist. Behind to the left, at the side of the chair, Joseph resting his hand on a staff. Full lengths in a classic ruin. This picture is based, like the "Virgin of the Rose" in the Madrid Museum, on an early sketch by Raphael at Windsor (see *antea*, p. 477). The treatment is not clearly that of Penni; something of the Florentine mixed with a little of the Roman suggests an imitator of Sebastian del Piombo and Raphael.

*Virgin of the Redemption.* This small piece, representing the Virgin with the Infant Christ between her knees in a landscape, at the foot of a date palm from which two angels are plucking the fruit, was given in 1610 by the Pope, as we learn from an inscription on the back of panel, to the wife of the Spanish ambassador, Duke of Castro. It afterwards belonged to the Arconati of Milan, and was sold by Count Francesco del Verme to Professor Tosoni of Milan, who left it to his wife, afterwards Signora Tognarelli (1871). The style is Lionardesque, and might fairly warrant the attribution of the work to Cesare da Sesto.

*Pietà.* An arched panel now exhibited in the Munich Pinakothek (No. 168, 0·33 high by 0·23), deserves attention in connection with the life of Raphael, because, without being an Italian picture, it is composed and executed on the lines of a drawing assigned to Raphael in the cabinet of engravings at Gotha. In this clever design, which, unfortunately, has been worked over in bistre and white so as to obliterate most of the original

work, we observe a composition of remarkable grandeur. To the left, Joseph of Arimathea kneels and supports the winding sheet upon which the dead body of the Redeemer is lying. The head and shoulders of the Magdalen are shown as she stoops, with loose hair, over Christ's feet. At her side, and more to the right, the evangelist is prostrate in prayer. In rear of the body the Virgin has fallen in a kneeling attitude to the ground, receiving eager support from one of the Maries on the left, whilst another woman makes sorrowful gestures on the right. A male figure crouches behind the Virgin. The sepulchre is a round tower in a landscape with tall birches growing in a valley through which a river runs. If we could testify to the genuineness of a sheet so badly treated by time and restoring (it is  $13\frac{1}{2}$  inches high by  $9\frac{3}{4}$  on greyish yellow paper), we might add that the design is one of the most interesting of the latest Raphaelic period for grandeur of line and fitness of arrangement, as well as for depth of feeling and dramatic expression. The drawing belonged to the painter Mengs, and passed with other art productions into the hands of the Duke of Coburg. A copy of the drawing, attributed to Timoteo Viti, is in the Stockholm museum. The picture at Munich differs from the drawing by having a large cross in the background. It seems the work of a Fleming.

*The Virgin*, turned to the left, seated in a chair, and with long hair streaming down from under a veil to her shoulders, holds the Infant Christ in her lap. He looks at his mother, whilst the motion of his left hand across his breast is towards a cup behind the chair. This panel with the Madonna of life size in half-length was ascribed to Raphael in the catalogue of the Pommersfelden Collection. Since its purchase for the Munich gallery (No. 1042, wood, 1.10 high by 0.78), the name of Raphael has been abandoned. The style is that of a Fleming of the type of Van Orley, imitating the manner of the school of Lionardo.

*The Virgin with the Infant Saviour* on her lap, and St. Joseph leaning one hand on a staff in rear to the left, is a round on panel No. 50, 0.84 in diameter, in the Lichtenstein Collection at Vienna, of bright colour and good preservation; attributable to Francesco Salviati.

*Triptych of the Virgin and Child* between the kneeling St. Catherine and St. Barbara, on the outside of the shutters, a monochrome of the Virgin and Angel annuntiate. These beautiful miniature panels of 11 inches in height, formerly belonging to



C. Fumagalli, and now in the Poldi Collection at Milan, are not by Raphael, but by Fra Bartolommeo.

*The Virgin and Child*, the latter standing on his mother's lap and looking out of the picture, whilst holding on to the bodice of her dress—distance a landscape. This is the subject of a half-length once in possession of the late Archdeacon Hore, now in the gallery at Cambridge, by Raphael's early Perugian contemporary Gian Niccola Manni.

*Madonna*, called "the Virgin of Count Bisenzio," now No. 37 in the gallery of Frankfort. 2 feet  $6\frac{1}{2}$  high by 1 foot  $8\frac{1}{2}$ . This picture represents the Virgin in half-length, seated, turned to the left, in front of a green hanging which partly intercepts a view of a landscape. The Child lies at length in his mother's lap. In style this is a weak imitation of Raphael's early art. It is much disfigured, especially in the face of the Saviour, by retouching, and it is now difficult to decide whether originally it was the work of Dono Doni, or Eusebio di San Giorgio. Two winged cherubs' heads are in the sky to the right and left. The panel was bought at Rome by Count Bisenzio, and afterwards belonged to the Roman dealer Baldeschi, from whom it was purchased for the Stædel Gallery.

*St. Luke at his easel*, painting the likeness of the Virgin Mary in the presence of Raphael, is a large panel in the gallery of the Academy of San Luca at Rome, and has been described in the History of North Italian Painting, vol. i. p. 581, as a work of Timoteo Viti.

*The Virgin, Child, and young Baptist*, No. 34, in the second room of the Palazzo Borghese at Rome, has been called the "Virgin in the Meadow" by Passavant (ii. p. 336), as it seems a reminiscence of Raphael's "Madonna in Green" at Vienna. The two replicas of this composition described by Passavant, at Brussels and St. Petersburg, have not been seen by the writers of these pages. The Borghese Palace example represents the Baptist to the right with the reed cross, presenting the scroll to the Infant, who rests on the Virgin's lap. Distance, a landscape. The original design for the composition may have been a sketch by Raphael. The execution is that of a Florentine of the school of Ridolfo Ghirlandaio, so far, at least, as can be judged from a distance. It suggests the name of Michele di Ridolfo. The surfaces are altered by cleaning and some restoring.

*The Virgin*, half-length, in a landscape partly concealed by



curtains, raises the veil from the Infant Christ, who sleeps in front of her. To the left, an angel raises the folds of the curtain; to the right, another angel bears a basket of flowers. This picture, in the collection of Lord Bute, is not by Raphael, but clearly in the manner of Camillo Procaccini.

*The Virgin Mary* giving a piece of fruit to a child on the right, who nestles against the lap of a kneeling woman, holds the Infant Christ on her knee, who receives a bird from a boy at the side of another female on the left, who carries a second child in her arms. In rear to the left, are two males and a female; to the right, a woman in a doorway, with two companions. This picture or panel, ascribed to Raphael, in the house of Count Gio. Bat. Buri at Verona, is probably that which Passavant (ii. p. 340) describes as the property of Count Formenti at Riva. It is not a Raphael, but a worthless production by some unknown artist.

*Half-length of the Archangel Michael*, in the Darmstadt Gallery, No. 372. Though catalogued as a Raphael, this square picture is but a copy of the same saint by Perugino in the altar-piece of the Certosa at the National Gallery in London.

*St. Apollonia*, a graceful figure of a female saint with her arms crossed over her bosom, in a round panel, was destroyed by fire in 1870 at Strasburg. Though catalogued as an original Raphael, it was one of a set of panels belonging to an altar-piece by Perugino. (See History of Italian Painting, note to p. 241 of vol. iii.)

*The Virgin Mary* supporting the Infant Christ on her lap. He rests his hand on the Virgin's breast. This little picture (No. 1079), in the Gallery of Munich, was once assigned to the school of Fra Bartolommeo, and is now classed as Umbro-Florentine. It is a late replica of a panel, 1 foot 2 high, in the Baring Collection in London, noticed in vol. iii. of the History of Italian Painting, p. 327, amongst the works of Spagna.

*The Virgin and Gabriel*, in two medallions forming together the Annunciation, and framed together over a basement in which two nude figures are introduced with appropriate ornaments. In this little panel, 1 foot  $3\frac{1}{8}$  high by 1 foot  $1\frac{1}{4}$ , exhibited at Manchester as belonging to G. E. H. Vernon Esq., after having been in the Coesvelt Collection, and the Palazzo Rosso at Florence, we note the handling of a Florentine and not the style of Raphael. The manner points to Rosso Fiorentino.

*The Virgin and Child in Glory*, above a tomb, at the sides of

which St. Francis and St. Thomas are kneeling and St. Paul and a Benedictine monk are standing, is a large panel,  $6\frac{1}{2}$  feet square, in the collection of the Earl of Warwick, which was exhibited at Manchester as a Raphael. The picture, once in the Cathedral of Pisa and subsequently in the Solly Collection, has been shown (vol. iii. note 5 to p. 540 of the History of Italian Painting) to have been executed by F. Granacci.

*The Incredulity of St. Thomas*, with a kneeling patron introduced on the right, by St. Anthony of Padua (Solly and Northwick collections and No. 145 at Manchester), though alternately ascribed to Raphael and Perugino, is really by Marco Palmezzano. (See Hist. of Ital. Painting, ii. p. 578.)

*Christ bearing his Cross*, a half-length in tempera, from the collection of John W. Brett Esq., No. 150 at Manchester, represents the manner of Bonsignori and not that of Raphael.

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## PORTRAITS.

*Portrait of a Young Man* with fair locks in a black cap and vest, resting his face against his right hand, and looking at the spectator. Everyone will recognise in this description a panel at the Louvre, No. 372, wood, assigned to Raphael, 0·59 high by 0·44, but originally 16 inches by 13, and long considered to be his own likeness. There is unhappily no doubt that this once beautiful picture has suffered from a most fatal process of cleaning, patching, and restoring, the panel, originally small, having been enlarged by the addition of several inches all round, and repainted in the brown-green tint of the background, or the black colours of the dress. The forms of the hand, wrist, and fingers, as well as the openings of the eyes and the archings of the brows, have thus been enfeebled and partly lost. The question arises whether the name of Raphael can now be sustained; and against that belief, one might say that the drawing is too loose, the colour too fluid and free, the movement and expression too gay for the master. On the other hand, it is necessary to inquire who else but Raphael could have carried out a work, still so full of charm, and so gaily tinted; and we come to the conclusion that the picture can scarcely be assigned to anyone else than Raphael, but

that it has been altered by restorers, on whom we must lay the blame of impairing the beauty, and suggesting the spurious quality of a once genuine creation. The portrait has been in the possession of the French State since the reign of Louis XIV.

Another portrait in the Louvre, half-length, in a black dress, No. 523, m. 0·68 high by 0·50, once called Raphael, and now classed amongst the "unknown," will be found described in the History of Italian Painting, iii. p. 505, as probably a work of Francia Bigio, to whom we have had occasion to restore, likewise, two portraits in the Yarborough and Maitland collections, which, till then, had also been attributed to Raphael, though certified by Francia Bigio's monogram.

*Raphael and his fencing-master.* Under this title we have a canvas at the Louvre, No. 374, 0·99 m. high by 0·83, representing to the right, in half-length, a powerful bearded man of hale complexion, pointing with the fingers of his right hand strongly foreshortened out of the picture, and resting his left on the hilt of his sword. His face is turned to the left, towards another man with a beard and long locks, who stands in rear. The dress of both personages is rich and noble, silk and stuff of different colours, all on a dark brown ground. That this fine picture is of an age not very far removed from that of Raphael may be proved by the fact that it belonged to Francis I. But is it a genuine Raphael? The general tone of the flesh seems much more dusky and coloured than was usual with Raphael, the drawing much more free. There are none of the subtle modulations of the master, but in their stead a bold but somewhat strong contrast of uniform light and dark shadow. The style of the contour and draperies, the fashioning of the hand with its bold foreshortening, suggest the co-operation of Sebastian del Piombo; the handling and colouring is somewhat akin to that of Giulio Romano. Yet the treatment as a whole appears to exclude both painters. Possibly the author of this fine work is a student of the manner of Giulio and Sebastian, perhaps Polidoro da Caravaggio, whose frescos in San Silvestro a Monte Cavallo at Rome reveal the skill of a very able follower of the schools of Giulio and Del Piombo, combined with a rapid style of execution, and taste in colour, that equal those in the Venetian works of Andrea Schiavone.

*Cesar Borgia.* The portrait known under this name in the Palazzo Borghese at Rome is registered amongst the works of

Raphael, without any evidence to justify the correctness either of the name or the attribution. On the face of it, the panel is not by Raphael. The person represented cannot be Cesar Borgia, who died before Raphael came to Rome, and would hardly be represented, even in a posthumous portrait, in the dress of a later time. The person delineated is a nobleman in a feathered laced toque, a vest with yellow stripes, and a black silk surcoat with shoulder pieces and slashed sleeves. The left hand, of thin and bony structure, rests on the hip, the right grasps the handle of a stiletto. An angular face, with but slight padding of flesh, is furnished with thin hair and a spare forked chestnut-coloured beard and mustache. The figure, relieved against a light brown ground, is remarkable for an olive complexion, modelled into prominence by dark and opaque shadows. At first sight we are led to inquire whether the picture is of foreign or Italian make, or whether, being in its origin Italian, the look of it was altered by a foreign restorer. The addition of a piece to the bottom of the panel, the flaying and repainting of the flesh surface, especially in the darks, the forehead, and the left hand, increase the difficulty of forming a correct opinion. We think by turns of Giulio Romano because of the texture of the background, which technically resembles that of Raphael's pupils, and of Parmegianino because of the structure of the hands and their articulations, or the burnish and lustre of the pigments. But this last quality brings us back to Giulio, whose marked contours are also noticeable in the picture, and it is possible that the portrait may be by him.

The suggestion made by Passavant (ii. p. 364), that a repetition of the portrait might be found in a panel of the Castelbarco Collection of Milan, is so far incorrect as the latter represents a man in a different dress, and turned in an opposite direction. But, further, it is undoubted that the author of the Castelbarco portrait, of which the whereabouts is unknown since the collection was sold, is Altobello Melone.

*Cardinal Borgia.* This is a portrait in the Palazzo Borghese of a cardinal in a red barret and watered cape, with red robes and lawn sleeves, seated facing to the right, in a chair at a table covered with a Persian cloth. On the table a bell and a book; in the room behind, a wainscot and bookcase. The face is heavily bearded; the hands are gracefully folded over the book; the eyes,

deeply set, are spirited in look ; on the whole, a noble and dignified impersonation, warmly and richly coloured in a golden tone, shaded off with warm though perhaps too uniform shadows. The treatment reveals facility of manipulation in the artist, excluding on that account the name of Raphael, and suggesting that of Perino del Vaga, who had enough of the Florentine in him to stamp his painting with a particular impress, and sufficient study of Raphael's style to imitate it in a certain measure. Against the name of Cardinal Borgia is the fact that Cardinal Pietro Borgia died in 1511, and Pietro Lodovico in 1512 ; and the technical handling of the portrait is of a much later date. The conclusion we should come to is that this fine piece is a work by Perino del Vaga, subsequent to the completion of Raphael's "Leo X.," of which it embodies some reminiscences in the setting of the figure, and the details of table-cloth, book, and bell.

*Portrait of a Lady.* No. 1120 (wood, 2 feet 4 high by 1 foot 5) in the Tribuna at the Uffizi of Florence. This picture represents a lady of station in a low dress, fringed at the bosom with a white edging. Her hair is gathered in a net, her face turned three-quarters to the right, the bodice is leaden blue, the sleeves of the same colour slashed with white. A chain round the neck supports a cross. The hands are gracefully superposed. It was Rumohr's opinion (*Forschungen*, iii. pp. 60-61) that a place could hardly be found for this portrait amongst the works of Raphael. Passavant, more confident, wrote (ii. 41) that although the surface was injured, Raphael's touch could still be recognized. Raphael could only have produced such a work if on coming to Florence he had surrendered the Umbrian style, to assume that of a pure Florentine. But there is no evidence that Raphael ever performed a feat of this kind.

*Donna Gravida.* Under this name we have a fine female portrait, No. 896 d, at the Pitti of Florence (wood 1. 2. 7 palms high by 0. 17. 8), assigned by Passavant (ii. 52) and others to Raphael. The figure, in half-length, is turned to the right, and seen to the hips. The auburn hair falls in bands along the cheek, and is gathered at the back into a bag or net of white brocade. A black band runs along the yellow bodice at the shoulders and bosom ; the sleeves are brown-red damask, with white slashes. The left hand rests on the waist, the right holds a glove. There is no doubt that this picture is of the same period

as Raphael's likeness of Maddalena Doni; but the execution, so far as we can judge from surfaces deeply injured by abrasion and retouching, is Florentine, and the style is most like that of Ridolfo Ghirlandaio.

*Portrait of Ferry Carondelet and his secretary.* This portrait, in the collection of the Duke of Grafton, is painted on panel 3 feet 7½ high by 2 feet 10. It represents in half-length a man of station, in a cap, wearing a furred pelisse, and seated behind a table covered with a figured cloth. His face and frame are seen at three-quarters to the right; the left hand is on the breast, the right leans on the table and holds a paper addressed to "Honorable deuoto nobis dilecto Ferrico Carõdelet Archidiacono Bituntino Consiliario et Comissario No°. In Urbe." To the left, behind the archdeacon, a servant in a cap looks over his shoulder, and prepares to deliver a letter; to the right, a secretary bends over the table and indites an epistle to his master's dictation. A curtain separates the figures from a landscape in which an edifice is flanked by a row of pillars receding in perspective, and partly concealing a wood, a hill, and dwellings. Passavant (ii. 357) assigns this picture to a disciple of Raphael, who worked from his master's drawing; he thinks it even probable that the head was sketched in by Raphael himself. On close inspection it will appear that the surfaces have been copiously stippled over; but it is still possible to detect the hand of an artist bred in the North-Italian schools, whose style is like that of Lorenzo Lotto. The landscape especially is quite Venetian.

*Portrait of a Youth*, with long hair, in a black cap, a yellow vest and black surcoat. Bust; in a landscape. This likeness, No. 35, in the Borghese Palace at Rome, catalogued under the name of Raphael, is in the manner of Ridolfo Ghirlandaio.

*Portrait of a long-haired Young Man*, a bust. (No. 546 in the Brunswick Gallery, 1 foot 9 high by 1 foot 3.) This panel is, or was, assigned to Raphael. The face is turned to the left; the right hand rests on a book. The painter is Palma Vecchio, though Passavant (ii. 369) suggests the school of Giorgione.

*Portrait of a Lady*, turned to the left. Her low white dress, with puff sleeves, is partly covered by a slate-coloured furred pelisse, of which the edge is held in the left hand, whilst the right rests on the fur on the lap. A gold chain rests on the bare throat. Background, dark green. A split in the panel runs down the

right side of the picture. This portrait, blurred, especially in the forehead and hands, by retouching, is in the Kestner Collection at Hanover, and looks, so far as its injured condition allows of an opinion, not by Raphael, but an artist of the type of Sebastian del Piombo.

*Portrait of a Young Man* with long fair hair, black cap, white shirt, and black mantle held together on the breast by the right hand: background green. This bust likeness, No. 370 in the Museum of Montpellier, once in the Palazzo Alfieri at Florence, was assigned by Passavant (ii. 367) to Ridolfo Ghirlandaio. But the utmost that can be said of it is that the treatment recalls at once Andrea del Sarto and Francesco Francia.

*Portrait of a Youth* of light and ruddy complexion, at three-quarters to the right, with long chestnut hair falling in rounded masses to the shoulder, covered with a black round cap. The white pleated shirt is edged at the neck with a frill; over it a dark mantle with a jewelled clasp of two buttons, round the edge of which we read "RAPHAELI VRBINAS." Bust. In the distance to the left a Roman domed church, to the right the tomb of Cecilia Metella, on the Via Appia; on a hill two sportsmen watching a stag. This fine and interesting portrait was at different times exhibited at Hampton Court and at Kensington, and exactly coincides with one described in the inventories of James II.'s reign (Scharf's Royal Picture Galleries, No. 123) as a portrait of Raphael by himself. The name on the buttons is not sufficient to prove the originality of the picture, which is painted in careful but liquid tones, possibly by one of Raphael's Florentine disciples. (Wood, 16 inches square.)

*Portrait of a Young Man* in a round black cap, with dark chestnut hair, white chemisette, dark doublet with two buttons as a clasp, and a dark silk mantle, and the right hand on the left breast. Munich Pinakothek, No. 1078. Wood, 0.52 high by 0.41. This picture was bought by Mr. Hugford at Florence as a genuine Raphael, from Lionardo del Riccio. It is certified by Mengs (1734) in a scrip on the back of the panel. The execution is reminiscent of that which was peculiar to Raphael when he painted the Canigiani "Madonna." The name suggested by this cold and careful piece is, however, rather Alfani than Raphael himself. The words "RAPHAELLO VRBINAS FEC." on the buttons are not of the same period as the portrait. Behind the

figure, two pillars of mottled stone intercept the view of a landscape, in which a wolf is seen watching a stag.

*Bust of a Cardinal*, in a red barret, heavily bearded. This portrait assigned to Raphael in the Leuchtenberg collection at Petersburg is certainly by Scipione Pulzone of Gaeta.

*Head of John Evangelist* on a tile, (No. 1053) at the Munich Pinakothek, represents the saint with an affected bend of the head to the left;—a long neck and red tunic;—a dark green background. The tile was bought at Perugia, and was purchased for King Ludwig of Bavaria, from Count Giulio Cesarei. The style is that of a disciple of Raphael in the school of Perugino, and would fully represent the manner of Spagna, in his earliest form.

*Head of a Young Man*, in a round, with his face turned upwards, No. 1074 in the Munich Pinakothek. On a square space in a breastplate which covers the chest, the words R. S. have been thought to indicate the name of Raphael. The execution of this fragment of a larger picture is not that of Raphael, but that of a feeble artist who was probably a Florentine.





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[The initial R. to read "Raphael."]

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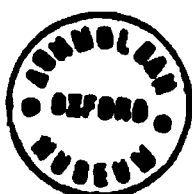
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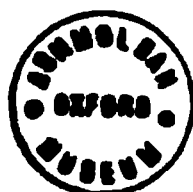
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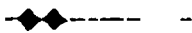
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